

California Historical Society
Quarterly

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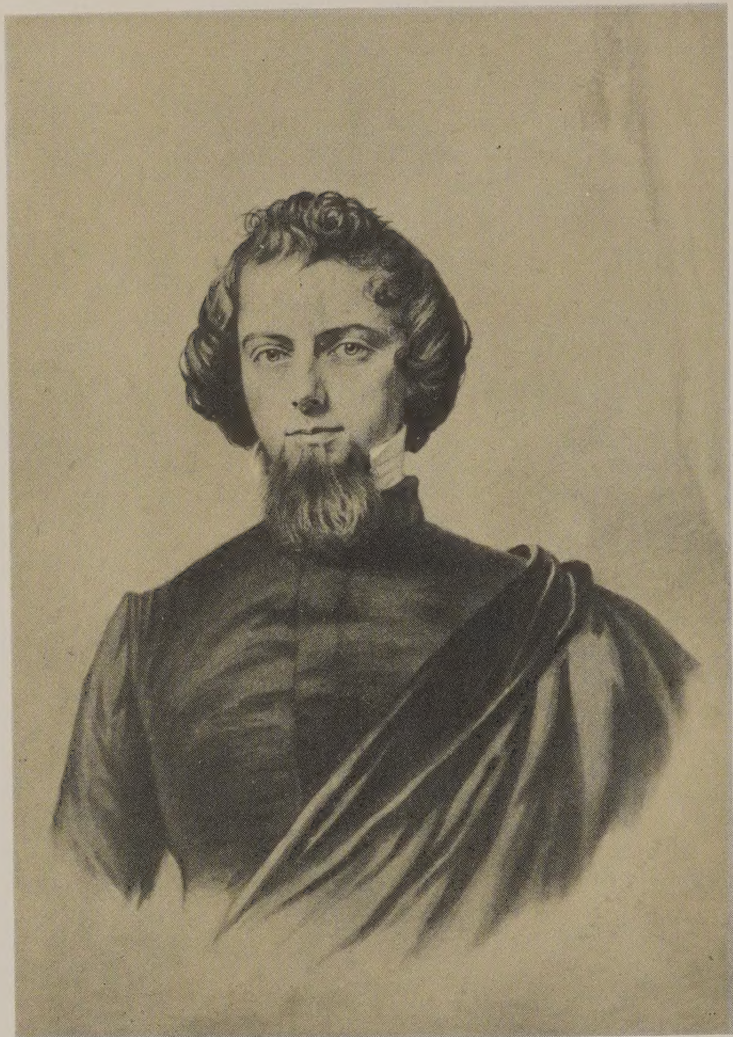
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FERDINAND C. EWER
From an oil portrait painted in 1859.
Robert E. Cowan Collection.

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THE LIFE OF FERDINAND C. EWER

May 22, 1826—October 10, 1883

By Henry Raup Wagner

INTRODUCTORY NOTE: The following biography of one of San Francisco's early and influential citizens has been extracted from a volume long in the possession of the Ewer family—partly manuscript, partly scrap-book—compiled by Ewer himself and which bears the title, "Ferdinand C. Ewer. Book for Private Reference in which is to be recorded incidents, occurrences and events of my life. Volume I, from May 22, 1826, to April 20, 1860." The volume begins with a genealogical table of the Ewer family, of Scotch origin, in which William, the first Baron Ewer, created such by Henry VIII in 1544, is set down as the family's first notable member. The American branch derives from a Ewer who arrived in the *James* in 1635 and who settled in Barnstable, Massachusetts. Ferdinand C. Ewer notes on an early page that he began this record June 28, 1848, and that the volume in question was not the original. This statement is dated New York, May 22, 1861, and in it he also remarks that he copied from the original note book, adding only what he had been able to discover concerning the first twenty-two years of his life.

The father of Ferdinand C. Ewer was Peter Folger Ewer, born in Nantucket, March 15, 1800. November 2, 1820, he married Eunice Cartwright, who died in August, 1822, having given birth to a son, George Alexander, July 2, 1821. May 24, 1825, Peter Ewer married Mary Cartwright, a sister of his first wife, and May 22, 1826, Ferdinand was born. January 26, 1833, his sister, Margaret Folger Ewer, who occupies a large space in her brother's narrative, was born. At the time of Ferdinand's birth the family was living in a house on North Water Street in Nantucket. His father was an oil merchant, having been started in business by his father with some \$20,000. On

his mother's side his family were Quakers and on his father's side they were Unitarian Quakers. In view of this the boy was not baptized but was simply named by his parents, Ferdinand.

The house in which he was born was still standing in 1861 and perhaps is yet. In 1826 his father sold this and purchased another next door to that of his Grandfather Ewer on Union Street. This was known as the "William Nichols house," and after living seven months there, Ferdinand's father sold it and moved into a half of a house on Gay Street. In 1829 the family moved again, this time to Providence, where his father established a business under the name of Peter F. Ewer and Company. In 1830 the family went to live in a house known as the "Westminster Street house," now opposite Grace Church. Here Ferdinand attended Miss Lacy's school for a time, and here also he had the first of a series of love affairs, which were quite characteristic of him in later years. When he was about seven years old he conceived the idea that he would like to have a middle letter to his name. His mother agreed provided it should be "C" for Charles, her brother, but, as he says, somehow or other finally it came about that the "C" stood for Cartwright. He duly records his trip to New York with his father in 1834, and in November the family moved there and occupied a house on Monroe Street.

In the following year the family moved to a house on Madison Street on the north side, near which his father erected a large brick oil factory. All this time the boy was passing from one school to another without learning much of anything, and the family went first to one church and then another. He grew up with Unitarian impressions, quite natural under the circumstances. But curiously enough, Ewer tells us that ever since he was six years old his principal amusement was to play Episcopal Church. Another of his amusements was to drive on Sunday in the carry-all to Brooklyn and down to Red Hook, or out along the Bloomingdale Road.

In March, 1836, his grandfather died, an event which changed the whole tenor of his life. The old gentleman left about \$100,000 to his widow and to Ferdinand's father, their only son. Peter therefore resolved to return to Nantucket, wind up his business in New York and retire. Winding up the estate, however, took him three years, and in the meantime Ferdinand was placed at the boarding school of Charles W. Greene at Jamaica Plains, Massachusetts. An uncle named Charles W. Cartwright lived in Boston. At this school he learned something from Isaac Adams, the only teacher in his department. Ewer left New York with great regret and afterwards harbored an unconquerable desire to spend his life there. In 1837 his maternal grandfather died in Nantucket and the rest of his family went to Providence, but in 1838 they were back again in Nantucket where Ferdinand was sent to school, and here his father took occasion to discuss his future with him. Ferdinand thought he would like to be a lawyer. His father was quite well pleased with this and decided that he had better go through college. About

this time the young man began to write poetry, or what he called poetry. After moving to Providence for a while, the family again returned to Nantucket, where Ferdinand remained until he entered Harvard. He attended Thompson's School and began to study Latin and Greek. He has preserved among his records a copy of the speech he delivered in the school, November 7, 1841, after the Harrison Presidential election. I refrain from quoting it. In the fall of '41 two of his friends, William B. Greene and Alexander Childs entered Yale College. He persuaded Greene to write him about the entrance examinations which it seems, according to him, were much less rigid than those he encountered at Harvard a few years later. In 1842 he entered the high school of Nantucket, which must have been a highly efficient institution.

Besides the work of preparation for college Ewer now engaged in a theological investigation. He was steeped in Unitarianism, but he soon found out there were a lot of Christians in other denominations as well. He explains how he divided the whole Christian world into two parts, Unitarian and Trinitarian, and after a due amount of labor he concluded that the Unitarian hypothesis could not be reconciled with the various statements of revelation. If, he said, the Bible was the Word of God, it certainly revealed nothing else than a Triune Being as the Creator of all things. He next divided the Trinitarian world into Protestants and Roman Catholics, and concluded that the Roman Catholics were not as bad as they had been painted. However, he decided for the Protestants and then divided these into Baptists and non-Baptists. In the argument the immersers had the worst of it. He then investigated church government and came to the conclusion that the Episcopalians had both a historical and scriptural argument in their favor. He now concluded he wanted to be baptised, and went to the Reverend F. W. Pollard, the rector of Trinity Church. The Rector baptised him.

About the same time (1842) he and William C. Tallent started a little newspaper called "The Highschooler," all in manuscript except the heading which was printed. Tallent, who was by far, he says, the best mind in the class and the best scholar, later went to Australia and died there about 1861. George Mitchell and Bruce Upton, who were members of his class in the high school, all went to Harvard, Upton in the class after Ewer. Upton finally went to California, speculated and failed for a heavy amount. He returned to Boston and married a rich widow and was still living in 1861. Mitchell also went to California and was killed in the mines.

In July, 1843, Ewer was confirmed in Trinity Church, Nantucket, by Bishop Eastburn, and this same year he had another love affair, this time with a Miss Martha C. Jenks.

In 1844, August 23, being then eighteen years old, Ewer left Nantucket, as he hoped forever as a place of residence. He had been there for five years, just the period of its palmiest days. The people were highly intelligent, the

schools excellent and literary and philosophic tastes were characteristic of its leading people. It was always full of "isms." There was a great deal of wealth on the island but the manners of the people, he says, were somewhat uncouth as compared, for example, with those of New York. There was no style. Writing in 1861, he says that by then the energy of the place had migrated to the mainland. The population had dwindled from 10,000 to 7,000 and the fleet of whale ships from nearly a hundred to a bare half dozen.

Ewer gives a long interesting account of his Harvard entrance examinations. As a result of these he was sentenced to make up Caesar, for he had read only Sallust which was not allowed as a substitute. His account of his years at Harvard is very meagre, and is mostly devoted to telling what he studied. About all we know is that he became a member of the "Institute of 1770" in April, 1845, and a member of the "I. O. H." in March.¹

In the summer of 1846 he became engaged to his cousin, Anne Maria Cartwright, an engagement never sanctioned either by her father or by his family. Time, he says, worked its cure. While still engaged to his cousin he fell violently in love with another girl, Amelia L. Harris, an affair which he calls the terrible reality of his life.

In his junior year, what with studying philosophy and reading German, he took a strange turn—a mental disease he calls it—which lasted a year or eighteen months. What happened was that he began to doubt the truth of the Bible and its inspiration, and was "left loose upon the sea of unbelief where I shaped my course in accordance with the currents and winds that happened to flow and to blow around me."

One day in the first term of his junior year his father appeared upon the scene and told him he wanted him to go to West Point. Ewer naturally objected, but his father explained that he had lost his property and could not carry him through college. Peter Ewer made every effort to obtain an appointment for him but without success. So Ferdinand continued at Harvard, suffering, however, much pecuniary embarrassment during the last year. At the exhibition held on May 4, 1847, in his junior year, he was appointed to appear, and gave an English version of Napoleon's speech at the Champs de Mai, June 1, 1815. In this he acquitted himself with distinction.

In his senior year, having given up the idea of becoming a clergyman, he began to entertain that of being a civil engineer, but his preference was, he says, to teach in a young ladies' school. This, however, did not look very feasible, as he was young and unmarried. He had also an unappeasable longing to appear before the public, and during the winter vacation in his senior year he was invited to deliver a lecture in the Athenaeum in Nantucket on the subject, "Poetry." During the summer his father went to South America. At the time of graduation the class numbered about sixty.

Ewer graduated eighteenth and consequently received a "part" at the Commencement exercises. He was assigned the subject, "Democracy in Athens," but as this did not appeal to him he changed it to "The Indian Race." A copy of the program is preserved in the scrap-book and also his remarks upon the Indian race, or at least a good extract from them. Being of a methodical turn of mind, he has inserted at the end of his account of his college career an itemized statement of his expenses of the four years while there, amounting all told to \$1845.94.

Ewer, now a full-fledged B. A., was, like many such at the present time, unable to make a living. He had left college considerably in debt. He had good recommendations from Mr. Everett, the President of Harvard, Jared Sparks, Longfellow and others. With these he made the rounds of some young ladies' schools, but they had no place for him so he settled on the more prosaic work of learning civil engineering. He engaged room and board for \$3.00 a week and selected Felton and Parker's office as the place to begin.

In December he was initiated into the Independent Order of Oddfellows, and about this time he received a proposition to go out to California and work there as an engineer, the gentleman making the proposition offering to supply all necessary instruments, pay his passage, and give him \$100 in cash, in return for which he wanted one-half of what Ewer would make the first year. This, Ewer says, he declined. Along in January, 1849, he began to feel that he would like to go to California. He was running into debt, there was little or nothing doing in Felton and Parker's office, and on top of this he had an ugly lung disease which had been growing on him since the spring of 1841. He denied having any gold-fever. He desired only to keep from starving. By February 1 he decided that he would go, but the gentleman who had made him the proposition a few months before had reconsidered. Between his mother and himself he managed to pay all his college bills except the tailor, a bookshop and some small board bills. He now tried to join one of the California companies, but to do so would cost \$300 and he could not find the money. His uncle, Charles Cartwright, wanted him to join the Pacific Company, in which the shares were \$1000 each, because both his son and grandson were going out with that party. Finally this scheme eventuated. Five hundred dollars was furnished by Mr. Lombard, payable with interest, \$200 by his Uncle Charles, also payable with interest, and the remaining \$300 by Sam Gould and Fred Cartwright. They were also to get three-twentieths of all the profits. His uncle furnished him with his outfit.

Ewer has preserved for us a clipping from the Boston *Atlas* of February 14 containing a critical notice by him on "Essays and Reviews" by Edwin C. Whipple, signed "Threndos," apparently the first thing of the kind which he succeeded in getting into print.

In paying a visit to his mother in Nantucket and trying to get his Cousin

Anne to elope with him he spent his time before the famous ship *York* sailed for San Francisco April 1. As his cousin would not run away and her father would not allow him to marry her he tried to break the engagement, but she would not listen to that either.

Among the passengers on the *York* were the following:

Messrs. Jno. W. Cartwright, C. John Hall, J. H. Barnes, C. W. Smith, F. W. White-more, Chas. M. Hubbard, Alfred Wheelright, N. H. Piper, Nath'l. Welles, Ed. M. Dennis, Geo. W. Minor, S. E. Teschemacher, Wm. H. Thayer, Thos. R. Campbell, I. B. Thompson, J. W. Cartwright, Jr., Adoma L. Melvin and Robt. R. Lear of Boston; Geo. N. Cheever (master of the ship) of Salem; Geo. Drew, Enoch Soule and E. Wadsworth of Duxbury; Joseph Trumbull of Worcester; Wm. H. Barrett and Ferdinand C. Ewer of Nantucket; Arthur O. Gay of Hingham; Jno. Colby of Lowell; John A. Spooner of Plymouth; Jno. Cheever of Saugus; Sydney Ainsworth of Barnstable; R. H. Hooper, I. Littlefield and H. T. Burr of Charlestown; Theo. Bassett of New Bedford; Clement Small of East Boston; I. M. Williams and Geo. Bailey of Wiscasset; F. B. Clark of Wells, Me.; and C. A. Swift of Monmouth, Me.

The voyage around Cape Horn was uneventful. The usual celebration was held on July 4 when they were off the Cape. Ewer delivered the oration, after which they had a grand dinner and consumed the last potatoes. September 16 the good ship *York* sailed through the Golden Gate. San Francisco Ewer describes as "an odd little village of a few hundred shanties and tents around the Plaza, very lively, much business, very dusty, very rough. A couple of hundred ships in the harbor at anchor. All that board us say our Company will break up as all others have done."

On going ashore the following day Ewer encountered his father, who, having heard of the gold discoveries while at Valparaiso, had come up to San Francisco the preceding January. He had been keeping an apothecary shop in Coloma and had made \$4000. The *York* with the party on board proceeded to Benicia. Here, October 13, Ewer left the Pacific Company and a week later it dissolved. Of the \$1000 which had been put in for him he got about \$250. And having no desire to go to the mines, he sold a pair of long-legged boots for \$60 and went down to San Francisco on the first steamer, the *Mint*. Here he formed a partnership with a man named Jee, to sell supplies to the miners. His father loaned him \$200 and Jee took the goods to Sacramento, cots and gold-scales, sold them and gambled away the money. Peter Ewer also went to Sacramento.

The last days of November were trying ones. Ferdinand could find nothing to do. He went to the *Pacific News* office without success, but finally on the 29th, W. M. Eddy, the city surveyor, promised him work in his office, and the following day he began to draft maps of San Francisco at \$20 apiece. This lasted for only fifteen days, as Eddy departed for Sacramento to try to obtain the state surveyorship. In the meantime Ewer became acquainted with Dr. F. P. Wierzbicki who desired him to write a criticism of his pamphlet, *California as it is* . . .² and get it published in the *Pacific*

San Francisco as it was in January 1849

P. F. Ever

a good representation of the village as

it was also in September 1849.

P. F. Ever



* Taken from this point, San Francisco (Steam & 30 vessels for the Bay at Anchor)

News. Ewer wrote the article, carried it to Mr. Charles Eames, who was then editor of the *News*, and Eames at once put him to work, at first making extracts from other papers, then gathering city news. Eames finally left the entire paper in Ewer's charge, pronounced everything satisfactory and declared that he was going to leave and that after January 1 Ewer would be editor and in charge.

At this point in the scrap-book is a sketch of San Francisco as it was in January, 1849, drawn by Peter F. Ewer, and which his son states is a good representation of the village as it also appeared to him in September, 1849. The sketch is reproduced herewith.

January 1, 1850, with some degree of modesty or diffidence, Ewer took charge of the *Pacific News* at a salary of \$480 a month. The *News* was then owned in equal shares by Colonel [R. T. P.] Allen, who was in New York but had left his brother Major [R. N.] Allen with a power of attorney, and Mr. Faulkner, who had also left for New York a month or so before, leaving Mr. Eames in charge as editor with all responsibility, which now devolved on Ewer. The first thing he did was to discharge J. Judson Ames from the post of city reporter and place James B. Devoe in that position. Devoe soon desired to go to New York, and recommended General Jonas Winchester who had been the former partner in New York of Park Benjamin in the literary paper *The New World*. Ewer decided to make the paper a Democratic organ. It was not long before he discovered that Major Allen and General Winchester were selling the use of the columns of the newspaper to various interests. It seems that after Ewer left the office they would insert little paragraphs to further their designs. The General proceeded to investigate the relative merits of Marysville and Yuba City and came back with a number of town lots in the latter place for the *News*, which however Ewer refused to receive. Ewer himself now left on a trip to Yuba City, leaving strict injunctions not to put any puffs in for the town. Nevertheless, while he was gone two appeared, and Ewer resigned his position as editor. Allen, however, who really controlled the paper through his power of attorney, promised to be good and persuaded Ewer to continue in charge of the paper. This he did, enlarging it and bringing it out as a daily. Nevertheless, the situation was a strained one and Ewer was awaiting an opportunity to escape from it. This soon occurred. George K. Fitch arrived in San Francisco with a small printing establishment and some paper. Three of the printers on the *News* and Upton³ the business manager went into partnership with Fitch and persuaded Ewer to become a sixth owner and senior editor, it having been decided to establish a paper in Sacramento.

April 1 they began publication of the Sacramento *Transcript*, a tri-weekly independent paper. The *Placer Times*, Ewer tells us, had become very unpopular and the *Transcript* at once got the business. For his interest in the enterprise Ewer paid \$5000, which he borrowed, most of it at ten per

cent. a month interest. He and Fitch slept in the editorial room. They soon built a brick two-story building which kept them all in debt. Meantime, [L.] Pickering and [J. E.] Lawrence took charge of the *Placer Times*, and to get business cut the rates, starting a competition which in a year's time brought both concerns to ruin. Upton, [Upham] he says, had sense enough to sell out his share early for \$10,000, and go home. At first they made about \$60 a day each with the *Transcript*, the receipts being \$22,000 in the first two and a half months. In June the *Transcript* was changed to a daily, and in December it came out as a Democratic organ. On Thanksgiving a dinner was given and Ewer wrote an ode for it which was printed at the *Transcript* office, and which we reprint here as corrected by Ewer.

Sacramento, California, 1850

ODE

*written on the occasion of the Thanksgiving Festival
at Sacramento City, Nov. 30th, 1850*

AIR—"Auld Lang Syne"

New England Hills, New England Homes,
We breathe our song to you;—
The peaceful roofs—the sunny domes—
The friends whose hearts are true.
New England Hills, New England Homes
We summon you to view;
However far the truant roams.
Thought wanders back to you.

We hear the sweet New England Bells
Ring forth their Sabbath peals;
From hill to hill the music swells,
And o'er remembrance steals.
New England Hills, New England Homes
We summon you to view;
However far the truant roams
Thought wanders back to you.

We see our homes in quiet lie
Among New England's hills;—
And memory of the days gone by
Our song with sadness fills.
New England Hills, New England Homes
We summon you to view;
However far the truant roams
Thought wanders back to you.

During the winter Ewer delivered lectures at Sacramento on "Infidelity." About June 1, 1851, finding himself going from bad to worse financially, he sold his interest to Fitch for \$5,000, cleared up the debts which he owed on

account of the paper, and migrated to San Francisco. Frank Bonnard had a fine job printing office which had just arrived, and Ewer agreed to pay him \$3,000 out of the profits for a one-third share of the business, and to edit a Sunday literary paper. They called it the *Sunday Dispatch*. The fire of May followed by the fire of June had made it a very inauspicious time to start a literary paper, and so, Ewer says, the enterprise proved a failure in the end.

The day after his return to San Francisco he joined the Vigilance Committee.⁴

John Nugent offered him a place on the *Herald*, but he finally accepted one on the *Alta* as city reporter, and October 5 severed his connection with the *Sunday Dispatch*. At this time he was rooming with Frank Soulé, and he admits that during this period he saw a lot of wild life. In the winter of '52 and '53 he went to Sacramento for the *Alta* to report on the legislature, and again lived with Soulé who was a member of that body.

In an argument over religion with Louis R. Lull, at the club table at Randall's, where Ewer was in the habit of eating, Lull told him he had better read Cousin's *Psychology*. Taking Lull at his word, much to his surprise, Ewer says, he found that the book scattered the entire foundation upon which all his skepticism had slowly reared itself. He now began attending Trinity Church, of which the Rev. C. B. Wyatt was Rector, and sat in Henry Meiggs' pew, and soon decided to return to membership in the church and become a clergyman.

Fitch, on the failure of the *Placer Times*, bought it out and with Pickering and Lawrence consolidated the papers as the *Placer Times and Transcript*, and in June, 1852, moved it to San Francisco. Ewer left the *Alta* to become sub-editor of the *Times and Transcript* and moved to Mr. Pickering's house where he roomed with Fitch. Whenever he was in San Francisco he was afflicted with asthma. His salary was \$50 a week, expenses \$35. He now began in earnest to take up his work to become a clergyman and to pay off his debts in the East.

After the election of Franklin Pierce as President, Ewer began to look for a political job in the Custom House, no doubt as a reward for his services to the party. In March, 1853, he took a balance of accounts and concluded he had about \$1250, mostly in Sacramento and El Dorado counties scrip. He now bought a fifty *vara* lot, at the corner of Mason and Sacramento streets, for \$800, divided it into twelve parts and started selling these off at a rate of \$2000 for the whole. His father, who had been in Nevada City, had returned and now took charge of the business. July 1, after a couple of weeks' vacation at San Jose, Ferdinand Ewer received the appointment of Warehouse Clerk in the Custom House from Major R. P. Hammond, at a salary of \$250 a month. He also continued reporting meetings for the *Times Transcript* at \$60 a month and furnished statistics to the *S. F. Prices Current* for \$50 per month. His father's health now failed and Ewer took care of him

for six months and then sent him home, where he lived eight months longer. Under the date of November 15, 1853, is an entry, "Paid up with compound interest all my college debts and all others except \$2000 to Uncle Charles Cartwright."

[To be continued]

NOTES

1. The Institute of 1770 and the I. O. H. were literary and debating societies at Harvard during Ewer's attendance there. Later, in 1848, the two were combined. Dr. Peabody in *The Harvard Book* (1875) ii, 341-42.

2. *California as it is and as it may be*, a 76-page pamphlet published in 1849, was the first book written in the English language and published in California. See Dr. George D. Lyman's introduction to the edition of the book published by the Grabhorn Press in 1933.

3. S. C. Upham. See Wagner, Henry R., *California Imprints*, Berkeley, 1922, p. 29.

4. Ewer's name appears among the 705 signers of the Constitution of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee adopted June 9, 1851. See Williams, Mary Floyd, *Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851*, Berkeley, 1919, p. 3.



SAN PEDRO HARBOR, 1858, SHOWING DEAD MAN'S ISLAND

From a collection of water color sketches by Lieut. James M. Alden, U.S.N., of the U.S.S. *Active*.

ANNALS OF LOS ANGELES

By J. Gregg Layne

PART II.

FROM THE AMERICAN CONQUEST TO THE CIVIL WAR

THE AMERICAN CONQUEST

Let us look at Los Angeles at this time—the capital of Alta California. Among its people there was not a lawyer or a doctor; not a resident priest or minister of the gospel of any denomination. No school was in operation for the education of its children. Those two or three that had been started had died a natural death from lack of support. Money was almost totally absent. Hides and tallow were the medium of exchange, while in large transactions, horses and cattle passed as legal tender. The city had no hotel and the only public buildings were the church and the jail. A dismal picture to be sure.

However there was life and happiness among its residents, and on the ranchos that surrounded the town life was almost ideal, with frequent *meriendas* (picnics), gay dancing parties, rodeos, and horse races.

I have stated that I would deal but slightly with the phases of the American conquest, but since Los Angeles was so much the center of activity between the American and Californian forces we cannot entirely pass over the maneuvers around and in the city.

On July 7, 1846, Commodore Sloat landed at Monterey and raised the American flag, without opposition from the Californians. The same act was accomplished in quick succession at San Francisco (Yerba Buena), Sutter's Fort, Santa Cruz, and San José, but in the south, it was not so easy.

Within two weeks after raising the flag at Monterey, Commodore Sloat was succeeded by Commodore Stockton, a man of action and determination. He immediately upon assuming command of the forces in California enrolled Frémont's "Bear Flag" battalion as volunteers in the United States Army, commissioning Frémont a major, and Lieutenant Gillespie a captain in the battalion.

Frémont with his command was sent at once to San Diego, while Stockton with 360 men landed at San Pedro, and both forces marched on Los Angeles. On August 13, 1846, the united forces entered Los Angeles, without resistance, since the two Californian leaders, Pico and Castro, had fled. The American flag was raised, and received the allegiance of the leading citizens of the Pueblo.

With such an easy triumph, Stockton felt there would be no further need

of a large force to hold the town, so in the early part of September both he and Frémont withdrew to the north, leaving Captain Gillespie in command with fifty men.

Stockton had overlooked the capacity of the old Pueblo for making trouble, and had he left anyone with more tact than Gillespie in charge, there might have been none. Stockton had shown real wisdom however in making Don Juan Temple alcalde of the town, picking an American in whom every Californian had confidence; and had Gillespie used any sense in handling the people they would have been content with their new allegiance.

As it was, no sooner had Stockton left than Gillespie began to "Americanize" Los Angeles. He refused to allow the Californians to gather in friendly reunions, as had been their custom, and on the slightest pretext he would order leading citizens arrested and brought before him, to show his authority and humiliate them with his arrogance.

At last when Gillespie threw some leading citizens into jail for an offense in which they had no part, it was more than they could stand, and rebellion among the Californians burst into flame. On the morning of September 23, just before daylight, the enraged Californians attacked Gillespie's headquarters, and though the attack was repulsed, the bewildered captain found himself forced to defend himself on the hill, where later a fort was built.

Don Benito Wilson, who had been put at the head of a local company of militia by Stockton, was waylaid by the Californians at the Chino Rancho, while returning from a bear hunt in the San Bernardino mountains, and captured after a short skirmish, and the members of his company were taken prisoners to Los Cerritos Rancho of Don Juan Temple, on the site of the present City of Long Beach. The kindly old alcalde had retired to his rancho with his family to await the outcome of the uprising, and he of course treated Don Benito more as a guest than a prisoner, and the company enjoyed their stay at the *hacienda*.

Upon hearing of Wilson's capture, and despairing of aid from the north in time to stop the rebellion, Gillespie accepted General Flores' offer to retire from the city with military honors and went to San Pedro, expecting to go north on an American merchantman from that port.

Before leaving Los Angeles, however, Gillespie had sent a note to Stockton at Monterey by one of his men, John Brown, or "Juan Flaco" (Lean John), as he was called, who made one of the greatest daredevil rides recorded in history, pursued, evading his pursuers, having his horse die under him, walking many miles to a friendly rancho, where he procured another horse, and arriving at Monterey only to find Stockton had gone to San Francisco. He slept three hours at Monterey, then pushed on and delivered his message to Stockton, having covered the distance of over five hundred miles in less than five days of actual riding time. Truly this is one of the outstanding, colorful feats of the American conquest of California.

Stockton immediately ordered Captain Mervine to sail to San Pedro in the *Savannah*, where he arrived just as Gillespie was about to sail north. Gillespie then about faced with Mervine and started back to Los Angeles, but they were met by a small but well mounted force of Californians at the Dominguez Rancho, who with one small cannon did effective work against the Americans, who lost six men, and several wounded. Mervine, unable to capture this gun, retired to San Pedro and buried his dead on the small island at the entrance of the harbor, which was ever after called Dead Man's Island, and has only been removed in the last few years to make room for the constantly increasing business of that port. The battle of Dominguez took place on October 8.

The city of Los Angeles was of course captured again by Stockton, who had been joined by General Kearny after that general's crushing defeat at the hands of the Californians at San Pasqual, near the present town of Escondido, where sixteen or eighteen men were killed and many wounded, among them General Kearny himself, who lost his arm in the engagement.

Marching north from San Diego, the Americans defeated the Californians at Paso de Bartolo on January 8, on the banks of the San Gabriel River, and on the 9th again defeated them in the last battle on California soil, on the mesa of the Los Angeles River, where the Union Stock Yards now are.

The forces of Stockton and Kearny camped that night on the outskirts of the little city, and on the morning of January 10, 1847, they marched into Los Angeles. Having already received the surrender of the city from a committee sent out by the inhabitants, they gathered at the Plaza, and Captain Gillespie was allowed to raise the flag he had been forced to lower four months before.

The Military Band played in the Plaza all day, much to the joy of the people of the town, for there was never a Californian who did not love music, and as music "hath charms to soothe the savage breast" so the Californians were made content with the inevitable. Commodore Stockton took up his headquarters in the home of Dona Encarnación Ávila, still standing on Olvera Street, which runs north from the center of the plaza. The old Ávila house is now a museum, one of the show places of the modern Los Angeles.

The capture of Los Angeles however did not end the war in California, for the Californians under Generals Flores and Andrés Pico, the brother of Pio Pico, were still encamped at the Verdugo and San Pasqual ranchos. But Frémont was marching down the coast during the operations in the south, and had reached the San Fernando Valley early in January. The Californians now saw that further resistance on their part was futile, so a meeting was arranged and took place at the Cahuenga ranch house, on January 13, 1847, where General Andrés Pico surrendered California to Frémont, and the war in California was over.

In signing the articles of capitulation at Cahuenga, General Andrés Pico

was only completing the word picture painted the year before by his brother Pio Pico, the Governor of Alta California, in a speech before the Assembly, when he had said:

We find ourselves suddenly threatened by hordes of Yankee emigrants, who have already begun to flock into our country, and whose progress we cannot arrest. Already have the wagons of that perfidious people scaled the almost inaccessible summits of the Sierra Nevada, crossed the entire continent, and penetrated the fruitful valley of the Sacramento. What that astonishing people will next undertake, I cannot say; but in whatever enterprise they embark they will be sure to prove successful. Already are these adventurous land-voyagers spreading themselves far and wide over a country which seems suited to their tastes. They are cultivating farms, establishing vineyards, erecting mills, sawing up lumber, building workshops, and doing a thousand other things which seem natural to them. . . .¹

Pio Pico's prophecy came true, but not so soon as he had feared, or as many had hoped.

FORT MOORE

The one outstanding landmark left by the American military forces in Los Angeles was Fort Moore, located on the hill back of the old Spanish Church.

Immediately after Commodore Stockton and General Kearny had retaken the city on January 10, 1847, the Commodore decided to erect fortifications, not only to resist an attack from General Flores' army that was still in the neighborhood of Los Angeles after its defeat in the battle of "La Mesa," but also in the event of another revolution, as Lieutenant Emory said, "to enable a small garrison to hold out until aid might come from San Diego, San Francisco, or Monterey, places which are destined to become centers of American settlement."

Therefore on the very next day, the 11th, Lieutenant Emory was detailed to select a site and place a fort capable of holding one hundred men. On the 12th the plan was laid out and ground broken on the hilltop that overlooked the Plaza, and marines and soldiers were worked continuously on the fortifications, until the 17th of the month, when General Pico surrendered to Frémont at Cahuenga. The war was over, and the work on the fort was stopped.

Kearny, Stockton, and Emory left Los Angeles, and Frémont's battalion of five hundred men remained in command of the city.

On April 20, reports reached the Pueblo that a large force of Mexicans under General Bustamente was marching against Los Angeles by way of Baja California, and so on the 23rd of April, work was begun on a second and larger fort by Lieutenant J. W. Davidson of the First U. S. Dragoons. The work on this fort, on the same site, was done by members of the Mormon Battalion that had arrived in Los Angeles under command of Colonel Cooke on March 16, 1847.

The fort was completed, and on the 4th of July, 1847, the Stars and Stripes were raised to the top of a flag pole, 150 feet high. This pole had been made

by the sailors from two pine trees, brought down from the San Bernardino Mountains by a Californian named Juan Ramirez with a crew of Indians, escorted by ten soldiers. The ceremonies of dedication were carried out by Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson, whose regiment had arrived in Los Angeles to succeed Colonel Cooke's command.

At sunrise on the 4th a salute was fired. Troops numbering about seven hundred formed in a hollow square, and the Declaration of Independence was read in English by Captain Stuart Taylor, and in Spanish by Stephen C. Foster. To Lieutenant Davidson, who had planned the fort, was given the honor of raising the colors.

Colonel Stevenson, in his dedication speech, paid high tribute to Captain Benjamin D. Moore, who had lost his life in the battle of San Pasqual, and for whom the fort was then named.²

The celebration lasted through the day, and in the evening there was a "magnificent ball" given by the officers of the garrison in Lieutenant Davidson's apartments, "at which were assembled the elite of the city." The ceiling was covered with the banner they had that morning hoisted over the fort, and a large picture of Washington was hung at one end of the room, while at the other end were draped the colors of the regiment. In each corner was a stack of muskets, the bayonets of which were used as chandeliers. A marked impression was made on the native Californians present, and the best were there.

Fort Moore was simply an earthwork with six embrasures for cannon. It was open in the rear, and defenseless from that side, but with a force of two hundred it could have held out against a thousand men if attacked from the front. The fortifications stood intact until about 1880, when streets were laid out on the hill and it was demolished, though part of the old walls were visible up into the early 1900's.

But now, in 1934, even the hill itself is being razed to make way for the continuation of Spring Street, and the dirt is being hauled several blocks away to make approaches for the new Union Railroad Depot on the site of old Chinatown, thereby destroying two historic landmarks at one time.

JOHN C. FRÉMONT

The outstanding figure in Los Angeles, just after the signing of the Peace Treaty, was John C. Frémont.

So much has been written, and so much has been said of the man, that it is high time a true valuation be given him. No man has been more highly praised for attainments he never achieved, than Frémont, and no man has been given more undeserved honors than he. No man who has held the public eye has ever been more remiss in sharing honors with those who deserved them than Frémont. Without Kit Carson, he could never have earned the name of "Pathfinder," yet he gave Carson scant credit; and without the old

ranchero, William Foxen, of the Rancho Tinaquaic, he never could have come over the San Marcos Pass into Santa Barbara, on his memorable march south to capture Los Angeles, but would have been ambushed and his army annihilated in the Gaviota Pass, but he has never so much as mentioned Foxen in any of his writings.

Selfish, petulant, arrogant, and overly impulsive, he kept himself in hot water all his life, and in Los Angeles he created the dislike on the part of his superiors that brought about his court martial.³ His personal actions while in Los Angeles, had they transpired in an eastern city of the same period, where society was better organized, would have brought about his disgrace.⁴

While in Los Angeles, Frémont was appointed Governor of California by Stockton, and in his usual manner of picking the largest and best, he took the home of Alexander Bell for his official residence, making it the Capitol Building, *pro tem.*, of California. This building, called "Bell's Row" was the largest structure in Los Angeles. Two stories in height, on the corner of Los Angeles and Aliso streets, it had a balcony on each street face. Its cost was said to have been \$70,000, and it was the gathering place for public functions and "grand *bailles*." This building, Bell's Row, was the only "headquarters" Frémont ever had in Los Angeles, though many buildings have been referred to, and labeled, "Frémont's Headquarters."

The most persistent of these Frémont headquarters fakes was a low adobe house that stood for years on South Main Street, below Pico Street. This building was written up in various magazines and newspapers as Frémont's Headquarters, and one of the outstanding histories of Southern California showed a view of the building, calling it Frémont's Headquarters in the first two editions of the book and correcting the error only in the last edition. The ridiculous part of this fake was that the little adobe had never been seen by Frémont, for it was built ten years after he had left Los Angeles. The truth about the adobe is that it was built by Henry Hancock as a residence in 1856 or '57, and was later sold to a man by the name of Morris, and was known for years as the Morris adobe, until some years later a saloon was opened in the building, and the proprietor, to boost his business, hung out a sign—"Fremont's Headquarters." The name stuck, and a tale oft repeated became truth to those who did not know.⁵

It was while in Los Angeles that Frémont challenged Colonel Mason, his superior, to a duel, to take place on the Rancho Rosa del Castillo, toward San Gabriel; but Mason was ordered north, so the duel was postponed. General Kearny heard of it, and called it off. He also ordered Frémont to report to him, and render an account of his Governorship. Frémont did so, and passed out of office, leaving Los Angeles May 12, 1847, to go to his famous Court Martial.

COLONEL STEVENSON'S REGIMENT

With the arrival of Colonel Jonathan Drake Stevenson and his regiment in Los Angeles on May 15, 1847, a new order of life was inaugurated in the

old Pueblo, and an attempt to bring order out of chaos was at once begun by the methodical colonel.

Life in the little *ciudad* at this time is well depicted by Lieutenant John McHenry Hollingsworth, of Company "G," of the famous regiment, in his Journal, so interestingly written during the stay of the regiment in Los Angeles.⁶

Hollingsworth claimed that Los Angeles was the garden spot of the world, and a gay life was led by the officers of the regiment. They were entertained continuously by the better class of townspeople, and the best homes in the city were open to them.

The Mormon Battalion was mustered out in July of 1847, and from that time on, Colonel Stevenson held full sway over the affairs of the city, until his regiment was in turn mustered out in September, 1848.

There was constant tension, and occasional clashes occurred between the soldiers and the citizens, but taken generally, they all managed very well together and many of the young officers lost their hearts to the bright eyed daughters of the dons.

During the stay of the Stevenson Regiment there occurred a terrible catastrophe. The guard house was blown up by an explosion, through carelessness of one of the soldiers, on December 9, hurling parts of the building into Main Street, killing several of the men, and wounding many.⁷ This cast a gloom over the regiment, and the townspeople as well, for many of the soldiers had made fast friends among them, and some of them had married California girls, intending to stay in Los Angeles when their enlistment was up.

Their confusion can well be imagined then, when on the night of the 13th a severe earthquake shook the town, making many of the poor fellows think a second calamity had come upon them.

Among the families of prominence in the Pueblo, who made life a round of festivities for the young officers, Hollingsworth mentions: the Stearnses, the Daltons, the Flores,' the Bandinis, the Ávilas, the Johnsons, Hugo Reid, the Mellus family, the Soberanes', and the Ontivares'.⁸

AN AMERICAN ALCALDE

One of Colonel Mason's instructions, as Governor of California, was that an American be made Alcalde of Los Angeles. Colonel Stevenson accordingly appointed Stephen C. Foster to that office, requesting the *Ayuntamiento* to install him, but they flatly refused, so the doughty colonel, in his usual efficient manner, administered the oath of office himself.

Alcalde Foster, a graduate of Yale, was a man of excellent character and ability. He had come to the Pueblo in 1847 as interpreter for the Mormon Battalion, and soon became a man of prominence in the community, marrying into the Lugo family.⁹ Stephen Foster put into effect several important changes in the running of the city. One of them was the utilization of

prisoners for street work. Heretofore a prisoner had been shackled in the jail and allowed to eat up more food than would have equaled his fine, giving no service in return. But Foster obtained balls and chains and inaugurated a chain-gang that earned its own food by street work.¹⁰

The Treaty of Peace was signed between the United States and Mexico, February 2, 1848, and ratified on May 30. Los Angeles was now an American city, the largest in California. It had an American alcalde, but a native-born *ayuntamiento* governing along the lines of the old régime with some American ideas interspersed by their able American leader.

In December, 1848, after repeated efforts of Alcalde Foster to call an election, Don Abel Stearns was elected alcalde, and with him the last *ayuntamiento* to serve in Los Angeles. Stearns served, however, only until May 21, 1849, when José del Carmen Lugo was elected to the office, and a *hijo del país* was again at the head of local government.

THE ORD SURVEY

The new *Ayuntamiento* requested Governor Mason to send an army engineer down to survey the Pueblo, that titles might be perfected before the United States Land Commission began its work. The man picked was Lieutenant E. O. C. Ord, a West Point graduate, who was competent to do the work and performed it in an able manner. Ord's pay was to be \$3000 in cash or 10 lots, his own choice, with 160 acres of farming land near the city. He took the cash! Oh, that he may never hear the wails of his heirs, to the third and fourth generation, for making this decision!

Streets were laid out for the first time, and on his map were given both their Spanish and English names. Consternation reigned when a householder found his home standing half way between two streets, with a front on neither—for up to this time a man had built his house where he willed, and a path soon led to it. Ord took certain street lines and carried them through, regardless of how they fitted the layout of buildings already constructed. After much worry in attempting to find some means for remedying this condition, the town council later, in 1854, passed an ordinance to allow the householder deprived of a street frontage, to take possession of the land between his house and the nearest street.¹¹

The Ord Survey was completed August 29, 1849, and his map, called *Plan de la Ciudad de Los Angeles*, was filed with the city clerk.

The streets on Ord's map south of the Plaza, which he too considered the center of the city, were: *Calle Principal*—Main Street; *Calle Primavera*—Spring Street; *Calle Fortín*—Fort Street (now Broadway); *Calle Loma*—Hill Street; *Calle Aceituna*—Olive; *Calle Caridad*—Street of Charity (now Grand Ave.); *Calle de Las Esperanzas*—Hope Street; *Calle de las Flores*—Flower Street; *Calle de los Chapules*—Street of the Grasshoppers (now Figueroa). North of the Plaza the streets were: *Calle de Eternidad*—Eternity

Street (later Buena Vista, and now North Broadway); *Calle del Toro*—Bull Street (called so on account of the Bull Fight Arena, where the French Hospital now stands, and now called Castelar Street); *Calle de las Arispas*—Hornet Street; *Calle de los Adobes*—Adobe Street (and any of them might well have borne that name); *Calle Corta*—Short Street; *Calle Alta*—High Street; *Calle de las Virgenes*—Street of the Virgins; and *Calle del Colegio*—College Street, this last the only one of the streets north of the Plaza that still bears its original name.¹²

EL CAMINO VIEJO

Spring Street was for many years before the Ord Survey called *Calle de las Caridades*—the Street of Charities. The reason for this was that the aristocracy of the Pueblo had built their homes around the Plaza and on Upper Main Street (later San Fernando) to the north, while Spring Street, which branched off of Main at the present junction of Main and Temple streets, was the beginning of the *camino viejo*, or "old road," and had been settled by the peons and poorer class Mexicans.

The "old road" was as old as the Pueblo itself. It was traveled for a hundred years, and closed only in 1881, when it was blocked at either entrance of Central Park, now Pershing Square, which it cut diagonally. The people of the town had persisted in using as a road what the city fathers were determined should be a park.

The "old road" can be traced on the Ord map by starting at the Plaza, going south on Main Street to the junction of Spring and Main, where Temple Street later cut in, thence following Spring to First Street, and then diagonally across blocks to Third and Broadway, Hill at Fourth, on Hill to Fifth, thence across the block to Sixth and Olive, and then skirting the hills to Ninth Street; from there it drifted west to the La Brea Pits, now on Wilshire Boulevard, six miles out from the heart of the city. This ancient thoroughfare was traveled by gay *caballeros*, and by creaking *carretas* loaded with tar from the pits for the settlers' adobes, and for many years after the American occupation, the road was a highway. As late as the early nineties the city council gave a quit-claim deed to a portion of this old road to a lot owner, in Block 11½ of Ord's Survey.¹³

And so the Pueblo of Spain was being transformed into an American city, slowly and crudely—but surely. What a change the next half century was to make in El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles!

THE YEAR OF YEARS—1850

For almost seventy years the little Pueblo of Los Angeles had drowsed and dreamed in the Southern California sunshine, arousing herself now and then for a short time to stage a revolution or to change her flag, but always dropping back again into her fitful slumber, even after the Stars and Stripes had flown over her Plaza.

But now Los Angeles had reached that greatest of years in her history—Eighteen Hundred and Fifty. The great American influx had started, and the Sonoran trek to the northern mines was at its height. Los Angeles found herself at the crossroads of these two invasions—her turning point had been reached. The threads of Americanism were just beginning to be woven into the Spanish fabric taken from Mexico: the little Pueblo had been made the City of Los Angeles by the “Legislature of a Thousand Drinks,” and as the City of Los Angeles she was to go straight ahead.

The Ord Survey had been completed the year before. California was now a State of the Union; and in this year of 1850, from the first Federal Census taken of California, we find the “City” of Los Angeles to be a community of 274 dwelling houses, with a white population of 1610, of whom three hundred were foreigners—that is, not of Spanish blood—and the men outnumbering the women four to one.¹⁴

On April 4, 1850, Los Angeles was incorporated a city by the State Legislature at San José. The hundred square miles of territory allotted her as a “ciudad” by Mexico in 1835 had been pared down to a scant four square miles by the “bibulous ones” in session at San José. The Indian village of Yang-Na was gone, and the “Illustrious Ayuntamiento” had become the “Honorable Town Council,” beginning to function as an American organization on July 3, with A. P. Hodges as mayor. Don Abel Stearns had acted as alcalde for the first six months of the year.

HOW THE “CITY” LOOKED IN 1850

The appearance of Los Angeles in 1850 could not have been awe inspiring; and if we could have looked out across the river toward the west from Paredon Blanco (White Bluff), now called Boyle Heights, the same view that Powell,¹⁵ the traveler, saw on March 16, 1850, would have met our gaze. Spread out before us we would have seen a collection of several hundred adobe buildings scattered along the mesa that formed the west bank of the river; and the peculiar thing about these houses was the fact that all save three were of but one story, and with the exception of five, all were flat-roofed structures covered with mud and tar. The three two-story buildings of the town were the residences of Vicente Lugo and Vicente Sanchez on the Plaza, and that of Alexander Bell at the corner of Aliso and Los Angeles streets. The five buildings that had not flat roofs but were covered with tile, giving a pleasing touch of color to the scene, were the homes of José Antonio Carrillo, on the Plaza, across from the church on Main Street; that of Francisco Ávila, still standing on Olvera Street (though its tile roof has long since disappeared), just north of the Plaza; that of Vicente Sanchez, one of the three two-story homes just mentioned; the large house of José Antonio Rocha, the Portuguese, down on Calle Primavera; and the house of one Alvarado, about where First and Los Angeles streets cross today.

The most noticeable feature of the scene, as viewed from Paredon Blanco, would have been the almost utter lack of trees of any size, for, with the exception of the thicket of willows that filled the river bottom from the hills of the present Elysian Park down to about where Ninth Street crosses today, there were but two trees of consequence to be seen. Those two trees were, the mighty *aliso*, or sycamore, on Aliso Road in front of Luis Vignes' winery, and a large pepper tree that sheltered the small adobe hut of an old Indian woman a short distance northwest of the Plaza. This pepper tree was the only one of that now abundant species in the town. The first pepper trees to be planted as sidewalk shade trees were set out eleven years later when in 1861 Juan Temple planted a row of them in front of his place on Main Street where the Federal Building now stands. This location should not be confused with that of the famous "Temple Block" across the street, which he also owned. The one lone pepper tree of 1850 was from the "parent" pepper trees of California, which grew in the quadrangle of San Luis Rey Mission.¹⁶

If we left Paredon Blanco, crossed the river, and made our way into the Pueblo by Aliso Road, which was the way every traveler approached from the east, we would have found ourselves in a city of mud in the winter—mud knee deep in the streets—and if it were in summer, in clouds of dust; for the dust was as deep in the summer, thanks to countless horsemen, and ox-drawn *carretas*, as was the mud in winter. But winter or summer it was a veritable city of mud. Every house in the town was of adobe in 1850, for neither brick nor wood had yet been used for building, and even the garden walls were of the same drab material.

After we had reached the Pueblo we would have been agreeably surprised by the many shrubs and vines behind those drab adobe walls; and most refreshing to us would have been the *zanjas*, or irrigating canals, that seemed to run everywhere.

THE ZANJAS

As water today is the life blood of the City of Los Angeles, so it was too in 1850. The *zanja* system was of utmost importance to the Pueblo, and exceedingly interesting to the newcomer in the town. The *Zanja Madre*, or "Mother Canal," started at the *Toma*, or great water-wheel, that lifted the water from the river at just about where the Santa Fe tracks now cross the river, west of the present North Broadway, and followed the western bank of the river south to the Pueblo, running along the slope between the present Los Angeles and Alameda streets. At various points minor *zanjas* would branch off this main canal, to water the fields and vineyards of the settlers, so that a veritable network of canals was formed.

In 1850 the town council, recognizing the importance of the water system, made stringent laws to govern bathing or washing of clothes in the *zanjas*.¹⁷ These laws, however, were circumvented by running the water from the

zanja into some improvised swimming pool on one's own property, and thence back into the *zanja*. This was the provocation of many pranks in the early days among the *muchachos* of the Pueblo. These pools were always surrounded by thick willow hedges and were thereby protected from the gaze of any but those who were actually in the pool, enabling those who swam to use their birthday suits, only the feminine laughter and shrieks, or the masculine guffaws, telling those without which sex was using the pool. The boy of 1850 in old Los Angeles was just as ruthless in his pranks as the boy of today, and often when feminine laughter told that girls were enjoying a swim, the *muchachos* would cut nettles and throw them into the stream some distance above the pool, waiting in fiendish glee, to be told by screams of anger, that the stinging shafts had reached their intended destination.¹⁸

THE PLAZA IN 1850

The center of life and activity, both business and social, in the Pueblo in 1850, and for several years to follow, was the Plaza.

But while the Plaza was the center of the community, both geographically and economically, entering it was almost like entering a maze, for the traveler from the east. He followed Aliso Road into Calle Canal, as Los Angeles Street was then called on account of the *zanja* paralleling it, where he found his way blocked to the north by a long, low adobe that closed the upper end of Los Angeles Street from side to side. This was the home of Don Ygnacio Coronel. To enter the Plaza therefore, unless he proceeded on over to Calle Principal, and thence north, he must wend his way up a little narrow street, or alley, just at the eastern edge of Los Angeles Street, running north from Aliso, called Calle de los Negros, or by the Americano, "Nigger Alley." This street, though but a block long, housed every vice known to man, and was long termed the most wicked street in California. The "street of the Negroes" carried on in sin and crime until it was abandoned upon the opening of Los Angeles Street to the Plaza in the eighties, and the old Coronel home was demolished.

Upon reaching the northern end of "Nigger Alley" one found himself in a small quadrangle known as Ocampo's Plaza, so named because Francisco Ocampo, the owner, had his town home there.¹⁹ It was in this little square that most of the cock fighting, a most popular diversion of the *paisano*, took place. From Ocampo's Plaza, entrance was made to the Plaza de Los Angeles as its present southeast corner, and one found himself at last in the very heart of the City of the Angels.

There were but two other entrances to the Plaza in 1850, and they were from the north and south at the west end, it being traversed by Calle Principal which ran from the river south past the old church. From the north side of the Plaza, midway between the east and west ends, ran a short street, then called Vinate, now Olvera Street, and from the south side, just about

opposite Olvera Street, Sanchez Street gave an outlet for a short distance, but both of these were blind streets.

THE PLAZA AND THE ARISTOCRACY

As every well-organized community has its aristocratic residential section, so Los Angeles had hers. Living on the Plaza in 1850 was still a mark of distinction, and the first families of the Pueblo had their homes on or near the old square.

On entering the Plaza from Calle de los Negros, on the east side, we would have come first to the home of Don Ygnacio Del Valle,²⁰ then to the two-story home of Vicente Lugo, built by Juan de Dios Ballestero at a very early date, and still standing.²¹ On the north side of the Plaza, with an eighty-six foot front, running from the northeast corner to Olvera Street, was the long low adobe home of Judge Agustin Olvera, considered one of the finest homes in the town.²² Up Olvera Street a few rods was the home of Francisco Ávila, known today as Stockton's Headquarters and one of the show places of modern Los Angeles. Between Olvera and Main streets was a long adobe, set in a bower of shrubbery, belonging to Downey and McFarland. The western side of the Plaza was taken up by the "Church of Our Lady" and the little cemetery at its side. On the southwest of the Plaza was the pretentious home of José Antonio Carrillo, the center of the social life of the Pueblo. The Carrillo house, an L-shaped building with a gabled roof, which gave the impression of two stories, occupied the south front of the square from Main to Sanchez Street, and down that little lane, in their two-story home, lived Vicente Sanchez and his son Tomas, later a most popular sheriff of the county;²³ while across the street from them was the town house of Don Francisco Sepúlveda, the grantee of Rancho San Vicente y Santa Monica.²⁴ Between Sanchez Street and the entrance to Ocampo's Plaza stood the town house of Pio Pico;²⁵ and now having made the rounds, we find ourselves back at the entrance to "Nigger Alley."

All of the better people of the town, however, could not crowd around the Plaza, so in 1850 we find the home of José Maria Lugo, a brother of Vicente, several blocks below the Plaza on San Pedro Street, a comfortable adobe over a hundred feet in length, between the present Second and Third streets, and which was only demolished in the early part of the present century to permit the widening of the street. The "Palacio"²⁶ of Abel Stearns was only a block south of the Plaza on Calle Principal, while the home of Cristobal Aguilar, a man of real importance both under the rule of Mexico as well as under the American régime, was located on Upper Main, later San Fernando Street, a couple of blocks north of the church. Two other important citizens had their homes even farther south than Don Abel Stearns: Eulogio de Célis, who lived across the street from the Bella Union Hotel on Main Street, where the Lafayette Hotel was built in 1856, and José Antonio Rocha, whose large

tile-roofed adobe was a block farther south on Primavera; while the influential Lopez family lived across the river along Paredon Blanco.

LOS GENTES DE RAZON AND THE PIONEERS

In the year 1850 there were but three American families living in Los Angeles—that is, but three families in which both the husband and wife were Americans, and these three families were those of John G. Nichols, J. S. Mallard, and Louis Granger.²⁷ It is true that many other Americans had settled in the Pueblo and were men of worth, but none, except these three had brought their wives with them. The other Americans who had families had married Californian wives, and many had adopted the customs of the *paisanos*.

While the American pioneer was of good stock, and his influence was to build the country more firmly than it had yet been done, the real “aristocracy” of the old City of Los Angeles was composed of the better Spanish families, and the names of Lopez, Carrillo, Sanchez, Sepúlveda, Lugo, Dominguez, Aguilar, Pico, Machado, Coronel, Del Valle, Ávila, Garfias, Célis, Reyes, Ruiz, Alvarado, Bandini, Yorba, Vejar, Palomares, Ybarra, and Alanis, have always stood out among the leaders, both socially and politically, in early Los Angeles history.

THE MANLY DEATH VALLEY PARTY ARRIVES

After suffering tortures almost beyond description, members of the Manly party straggled into Los Angeles in February, 1850, having crossed that earthly hell they had named Death Valley. Among these almost exhausted travelers was a Methodist minister, J. W. Brier, with his wife and two children, who stopped in the Pueblo for a while, and with them came John Goller, who stayed.²⁸ Goller, an honest German blacksmith, opened the first horse-shoeing and wagon shop in the town. Money was easy, and John Goller got \$16 for every horse he shod. He built the first four-wheeled wagons, the old Spanish *carreta* being the only wheeled vehicle known here up to that time. Iron was scarce, so Goller bought up and collected all the discarded wagon-wheel tires he could find along the old Santa Fé and Spanish trails, to provide himself with that valuable metal.²⁹ John Goller prospered in Los Angeles, without competition in the earlier days, and died on July 7, 1874, after twenty-four years' activity in the community.

IMPORTANT PIONEERS OF 1850

The grip of the *gente de razon* was fast slipping after the American conquest, and as early as 1850 the affairs of business and state were falling into the hands of the newcomers. This wonderful year saw the arrival of more men of consequence than any other one year had yet seen. In this “year of years” came John Downey, later to become Governor of California,

William G. Dryden, Benjamin Hayes, Jonathan Scott, and J. Lancaster-Brent, lawyers; Dr. Obed Macey, Matthew Keller, Edouard Naud, and Arthur McKenzie Dodson. Each of these men was to make his mark in the affairs of the little City of Los Angeles.

William G. Dryden had arrived in California with the Workman party some years earlier, but it was not until 1850 that he became a resident of the city. He was a leader of business enterprise, and a judge of the County Bench in the fifties. Due to the length of his features, he shared the name of "Old Horse Face" with Don Abel Stearns, among the *paisanos*.

Benjamin Hayes and Jonathan Scott formed a law partnership, and both held public offices in the city and county. Benjamin Hayes was historically minded and systematically formed a collection of about sixty scrap-books, from the day of his arrival, that were later turned over to Hubert Howe Bancroft, who claimed them to be some of the most valuable source material in his great library.³⁰

No other American who had ever come into the community held more influence over the native Californian than did J. Lancaster Brent, a gallant Marylander and a lawyer who specialized in land cases, a subject of great moment. Naturally he was a Democrat, and many a *paisano* voted that ticket under his influence, for they had absolute confidence in him. An interesting tale is told of how Brent swayed an election by bringing Don Julio Verdugo and his twelve sons to the polls to vote his ticket when the result of the election hung in the balance.³¹

One of the most interesting characters to reach the little city in its early days was Matthew Keller. "Don Mateo," as the natives called him, was an Irishman of no mean ability. He had studied for the Catholic priesthood, was well educated, and was a musician of talent.³² He had lived in Mexico prior to coming to Los Angeles in 1850, and upon his arrival bought an extensive vineyard on the east side of Alameda Street between Marchessault and Aliso, where in the early fifties he built his brick residence, which is still standing.³³ Don Mateo later acquired the 13,000 acre Rancho Topango-Malibu-Sequit from Victor Prudhomme in 1857, for the sum of but \$1400.³⁴ This is now the famous Rindge ranch, that stretches for miles along the coast between Los Angeles and Ventura. Keller's wines were celebrated both in California and in the East. Matthew Keller was a charter member of the first Masonic Lodge in Los Angeles, and lived to a ripe old age, dying in 1881, having been a leader up to the time of his death.

Arthur McKenzie Dodson was the first man to manufacture soap, commercially, within the corporate limits of Los Angeles, while Edouard Naud, a French pioneer, came as a pastry baker, but soon launched into larger commercial enterprises, and in a few years had built the first modern warehouse in the city. The district where this warehouse, a part of which is still standing, was built is known as Naud's Junction.

When these pioneers of 1850 arrived they found Russell Sackett, a lawyer, established as a butcher, the legal profession being somewhat slack at the time of his arrival, and Charles Ducommun, a watchmaker, who established a hardware business, which still thrives under the name of C. Ducommun and is still (1934) owned by the family.

PETER BIGGS—MAN OF COLOR

To list the pioneers of 1850 and not mention the first English-speaking colored pioneer would be remiss—for no man of the old Pueblo held the public eye more than did Peter Biggs, the first barber in Los Angeles. Peter was quite some man of affairs in the early days of the city—the *paisano* called him "Don Pedro," the gringo, "Pete." Aside from being a "tonsorial artist" he did odd jobs. His shop was on Calle Principal, near the old Bella Union Hotel. Like all the old-time darkies, Pete was a great talker, and Major Horace Bell relates an interesting tale about Peter Biggs and Captain Alexander Bell, when that well known pioneer first came to town.³⁵

Captain Bell, a Southern gentleman, dropped into Pete's shop for a haircut, when the loquacious Peter asked the Captain if he intended to attend the grand *baile* to be given that evening. The Captain stated that he was not acquainted with the lady who was giving the soirée, but Peter assured the gallant southerner that such a state of affairs made no difference in hospitable California, for any well-bred newcomer was welcome to every affair. Night came, and Captain Bell hied himself to the designated place and upon his introduction to the hostess, a stately Spanish dame, asked the lady's hand for the first waltz, but was told by the gracious one, that she had promised the first dance to Mr. Biggs. The gentleman from the South had not been so apt in ascertaining Peter's full name, as had Peter his, so when the music started, not realizing to whom the lady had referred, and his charming hostess floated away to the strains of the waltz in the arms of a Negro barber, it was more than a white man of the South could stand. Out came the Captain's pistols, and out flew the talkative Mr. Biggs, with his coat tails flying behind. He fled far down the river-bed, where he hid himself in the willows, and where he stayed until told by friends that Captain Bell had forgiven him on finding out that the "lady" was not of the best society as he had at first believed.

Peter Biggs was an ingenious character, and always ready to make an honest penny. Daniel Lévy in his early book, *Les Français en Californie*, relates that Peter upon learning of a scourge of rats and a dearth of cats in San Francisco, picked up dozens of the much-wanted felines, then abundant in Los Angeles, and shipped them to San Francisco, where he obtained fabulous prices for them.³⁶

The last heard of poor old Pete was toward the end of the Civil War. Biggs, though a former slave, was a rabid Democrat. One hot day in August,

1865, he was loudly proclaiming his ardent attachment to the cause of Secession when he was pounced upon by a company of Union cavalrymen, arrested, and forced to march, with ball and chain on his leg, all the way to the Drum Barracks at Wilmington. But, true to his convictions, when passing a group of friends he threw his hat in the air and gave three lusty cheers for Jeff Davis, which act, no doubt, assured his further punishment.³⁷ Shortly after the war Pete was stabbed to death.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCH

Up to 1850 there had been no religious services in Los Angeles other than the Roman Catholic, but in June, 1850, the first Protestant sermon to be heard in the city was preached by a Methodist minister, Reverend J. W. Brier, of the Death Valley party, in the home of John G. Nichols, whom we know to have also been a pioneer of that year.³⁸ Brier, who had been here just four months, shortly after left for the north.³⁹

This Protestant sermon was not only the first, but the last one for a period of more than two years.

LAWS AND LAW MAKING

The first work of the "Honorable Town Council" of 1850 was to re-enact many of the old ordinances, and add new ones to fit changing conditions.

Here are some of the more interesting articles of legislation, that seem queer to our Twentieth Century conditions:⁴⁰

Art. 1. The city's prisoners shall be formed in a chain gang and occupied in public work.

Art. 2. All city prisoners must be sentenced within two days.

Art. 3. When the city has no work in which to employ the chain gang the recorder shall, by means of notices conspicuously posted, notify the public that such and such a number of prisoners will be turned over to the highest bidder for private service, and in that manner they shall be disposed of for a sum that will not be less than the amount of their fine and for *double the time* they were to serve out at hard labour.

Art. 6. Every citizen of the corporation shall as a duty, sweep in front of his habitation on Saturdays, as far as the middle of the street, or at least eight varas.

Art. 7. No filth shall be thrown into the zanjias carrying water for common use, nor into the streets of the city, nor shall any cattle be slaughtered in the same.

Art. 9. Every owner of a store or tavern, and every person that lives in a house of more than two rooms facing to the street shall put a light at the door of said house during the first two hours of every dark night.

Art. 10. Every shop or tavern shall close in winter at eight o'clock and in summer at nine o'clock at night.

Art. 12. The washing of clothes in the zanjias which furnish water for common use is prohibited.

Art. 13. Whoever shall walk the streets in a scandalous attire or molest the neighbors with yells or in any other manner, shall be taken to jail if the hour be late for business or the offender be intoxicated, and afterwards at the proper hour, or when again sober,

the recorder shall impose a fine of not less than \$10, nor more than \$25, which must be paid on the spot, otherwise the offender shall be sent to the chain gang, for the space of from ten to twenty-five days.

Art. 14. The same penalty shall be imposed for playing cards in the street, regardless of the kind of game, likewise for playing any other game of the kind played in houses that are paying a tax for the privilege. If he be an Indian he shall pay a fine of \$3 to \$5 or be imprisoned eight days in the chain gang.

While these laws seem strange and in many instances drastic, we must remember that up until now the community had been more or less lawless; and the effort to regulate life and lawlessness, as well as the first attempt at sanitation, is interesting. We cannot help but pity the poor prisoner who when city work was slack had his sentence doubled as in Article 3, or wonder at the lighter sentence imposed on the Indian in a fine of three to five dollars as against the American or Californian's ten to twenty-five dollar fine for the same misdemeanor in Articles 13 and 14. And spending the night in almost any downtown hotel of our modern American city makes us wish that the old Article 13 of the first Los Angeles Laws, would be enforced today.

THE COUNTY GOVERNMENT

The county government of Los Angeles was established February 18, 1850. The first county election was held on April 1; 377 votes being cast, and the following elected:⁴¹ Agustin Olvera, County Judge; B. D. Wilson, County Clerk; Benjamin Hayes, County Attorney; Manuel Garfias, Treasurer; Antonio F. Coronel, Assessor; Ygnacio Del Valle, Recorder; George T. Burrill, Sheriff; Dr. Charles B. Cullen, Coroner; J. R. Conway, County Surveyor; and Jonathan Scott and Louis Robideaux were appointed interpreters, since all court business was transacted in both English and Spanish.

The County Court was housed in the old Bella Union Hotel Building, the first Court of Sessions being held June 24, 1850.

JUDGE AGUSTIN OLVERA

Outstanding among these newly elected county officers and among his countrymen was Don Agustin Olvera, a nephew of Ygnacio Coronel, with whom he had come to the Pueblo sixteen years before in the Hajar and Padres company. At the time of his election to the County Bench he was holding the office of "Juez de la Instancia"—Judge of the First Instance of the Los Angeles District—under appointment of Military Governor Riley.⁴² All of the Hajar and Padres colonists had been picked for character, and later events proved that they were well selected. Don Agustin, a man of education, had been a member of the Assembly, was Secretary under both Pio Pico and General Flores, and in 1847 was one of the Commissioners who signed the Treaty of Cahuenga. He served as Receiver of the United States Land Office at Los Angeles in 1856.

THE OLD BELLA UNION HOTEL

In 1850 the Bella Union was the only hotel in the Pueblo. This old building had seen much of the town's history for it had been Pio Pico's official residence at the taking of the city by Commodore Stockton in August, 1846, and from that time was occupied by the United States soldiers until May, 1849. It was then owned by B. D. Wilson, and served as a hotel until after the organization of the county.⁴³ At that time the building was a one-story adobe, and was used as the court house until October 1, 1851, when it was reopened as a hotel by Gibson and Hodges in opposition to the Eagle Hotel, which had been opened in January of that year by Bailey and Overstreet.

The Bella Union passed through the hands of Winston and Hodges in 1852, to Dr. Obed Macey of El Monte in 1853, and to Ross and Crockett in 1854, while in 1855 Robert S. Hereford was the proprietor, and in 1856 the old hotel was sold to Flashner and Hammell, who added upper stories in 1858. The old building, still standing at 314 North Main Street, is now called the "St. Charles Hotel," a cheap "flop house" in a once proud district.

THE STORES OF 1850

In 1850 there were but four stores in the town that were not general merchandise establishments. These four were Downey & McFarland's Drug Store, Ducommun's Watch Shop, the Tin Shop of O. W. Childs, over which a sign read—"Tins to Mend," and the Wagon Shop of John Goller.

The important general stores of 1850 were those of Abel Stearns, B. D. Wilson, Temple and Rice, and John Schumacher; while there was one second-hand store operated by a man named Yarrow, but more commonly called "Quatro Ojos," on account of his habit of looking over the tops of his exceptionally large spectacles.⁴⁴

The year 1850 saw more action and changes in Los Angeles than ever before in its history. The horse and cattle trade to the northern mines was at its peak. Money was abundant. More people were coming in from the States, and the next few years were to see a growing American community with the old Spanish California being pushed gradually to the rear. And life in the Pueblo was pleasant, for the rough backwash from the mines had not yet set in.

"THE LOS ANGELES STAR"—FIRST NEWSPAPER

Probably no one thing in the development of Los Angeles had more influence on the people or the welfare of the town, than did the establishment of its first newspaper, *The Los Angeles Star*.

As early as October 16, 1850, a proposal was made to the city council to establish a newspaper.⁴⁵ The petitioner, Theodore Foster, asked for a lot for the purpose of erecting a building thereon to be used as a printing establishment—and the minutes of the meeting of that date contain this entry:

The Council taking into consideration the advantage which a printing house offers to public enlightenment, and there existing as yet no such establishment in the city: Resolved, that for *this once only* a lot from amongst those that are marked on the city map be given Mr. Theodore Foster for the purpose of establishing thereon a printing house; and the donation be made in his favor because he is the first to inaugurate this public benefit; subject however to the following conditions: First, that the house and printing office be completed within one year from today. Second, that the lot be selected from amongst those numbered on the city map and not otherwise disposed of.

The lot selected was directly behind the Bella Union Hotel and facing on Los Angeles Street, and there in a little building, over the door of which was a sign, "IMPRENTA," was issued on May 17, 1851, the first number of the pioneer paper—*The Los Angeles Star*—a four-page weekly to be, according to the notice at the head of the editorial column, "published every Saturday, opposite Bell's buildings, City of Los Angeles, by Lewis & McElroy." The publishers were John A. Lewis and John McElroy. Foster not only seems to have dropped out of the scheme, but also to have disappeared from any further activities in Los Angeles. The paper was printed partly in English and partly in Spanish, Lewis editing the English pages, while the Spanish columns were the work of Manuel Clemente Rojo, a Mexican lawyer who had settled in Los Angeles a few years before. Though changing ownership many times the *Star* continued as the leading newspaper of Southern California until 1864.

There is no complete file of *The Los Angeles Star* extant, and in fact very few copies of the early numbers exist; but through a fortunate circumstance a copy of the first number, May 17, 1851, in excellent condition, was recently unearthed in the New York Public Library, and in December, 1932, Messrs. Henry R. Wagner and Bruce McAllister of Los Angeles reproduced it in facsimile and presented 150 copies of it, with an explanatory note by Mr. Wagner, to their friends.⁴⁶

The first issue of the *Star* contained as its principal article, showing the subject foremost in the local mind at the time, "California Land Commission," and the editorial comment on the Land Commission was not at all complimentary. Beside the quaint advertisements, the most interesting item in the paper was:

"Lt. Col. J. B. Magruder, 1st Artillery, U. S. A.; Capt. H. W. Halleck, Engineer Corps, U. S. A. and Secty. of State under Gen. Riley's administration; and Capt. Lovell, 2nd Infantry U. S. A. arrived in the city on Friday evening."

Of these distinguished visitors Colonel J. Bankhead Magruder was to figure prominently in the affairs of the town for the next two years.

THE FIRST WOODEN BUILDING IN LOS ANGELES

In 1851 Colonel Magruder was in command of the Military District which included Los Angeles, but with headquarters at San Diego. When the Colo-

nel, a convivial body, could stand the quiet of San Diego no longer, he would make his way to Los Angeles, the liveliest of towns in the fifties, to spend his time with an old friend, Samuel R. Dummer, a retired Captain of Volunteers of the Mexican War. Dummer was also a "hail-fellow well met," and when these two got together in Los Angeles—"the sky was the limit."

According to Magruder there was in 1851 no "first class" drinking place in Los Angeles, so the Colonel and the Captain decided they would open a saloon of their own, "where a gentleman could be a gentleman." With this idea in mind they bought a lot on Main Street just back of the home of José Antonio Carrillo (the site of the present old "Pico House"), imported milled lumber from Maine, and erected the first wooden building in Los Angeles,⁴⁷ a curiosity to the townspeople, who up to this time had known only adobe as a building material. The building stood at the back of the lot and faced on Main Street, and was a two-story affair, one room for a bar on the first floor, and one room for sleeping quarters on the second.⁴⁸

The name of this first American saloon was "The El Dorado." But after buying the lot and erecting the building the two warriors found themselves out of money, and so from Don Abel Stearns, the richest man in town, they borrowed money to stock their bar properly, giving a note bearing interest at 5 per cent a month. After a year of unprofitable business but much conviviality, the two novice saloon-keepers allowed their bartender, a young Irishman named Hughes, to take over the establishment. Hughes, too, lasted just a year when financial disaster overtook him, and in 1853 the building was bought by popular subscription for the Reverend Adam Bland, to be used as a Methodist Church. Thus the first wooden building of the town became in turn the first American saloon and the first Protestant church. This historic building was torn down early in the seventies and the Merced Theatre, which still stands, was built on the site.

OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1851

The year 1851 found Mayor B. D. Wilson holding the reins of office; "Don Benito" the Californians affectionately called him. And this year the first American child was born in Los Angeles: John Gregg Nichols, born April 15, 1851, the son of John G. Nichols.⁴⁹

This same year the first distinctly American settlement in the county was made at El Monte by a company composed almost wholly of Texans. These people played a great part in the drama of the "Angel City" for the next ten years. The "Monte Boys," as they were called, often rode into the city to raise a rumpus, or to help put down trouble, as the case might be. They were stern, tough fellows capable of finishing whatever they might start.⁵⁰

How quickly the gringo was claiming the country is shown by the fact that of thirteen large property owners in Los Angeles in 1851, six were Americans, holding 135,000 out of 500,000 acres of land, assessed at \$306,000 out of a total valuation of a half million dollars.⁵¹

1852—A YEAR OF PROGRESS

The most important events from a political viewpoint in 1852 in Los Angeles, when John G. Nichols was Mayor, were the maneuvers of the United States Land Commission which opened its first session here on August 27, to settle titles to private land claims. The people made much of the Commission and the Commissioners, and on the night of September 23 a grand ball was given in their honor at the home of Manuel Garfias.⁵²

Earlier in the year a distinguished visitor, Boundary Commissioner John Russell Bartlett, paid a visit to the city when, on April 22, he was entertained by Judge Benjamin Hayes. It had been his intention to go to San Gabriel Mission to talk to Hugo Reid regarding the Indians of that locality, but a characteristic case of "mañana" prevented the visit, and showed the conditions existing in the Pueblo at the time, for he waited two days for horses to be brought in for the journey, when, his time being up and the horses not having arrived, he was forced to return to his headquarters at San Diego without accomplishing his object.⁵³

It was in 1852 that Henry Hancock,⁵⁴ who had recently come to Los Angeles, was commissioned by Mayor Nichols to make the new Survey, always afterward referred to as the "Henry Hancock Survey," by which thirty-five acre lots were laid out in outlying districts of the city, and on August 13, the "Donation System" was inaugurated, by which these thirty-five acre lots and other tracts of land were granted to townspeople solely on condition of improvement and the payment of fees.⁵⁵ This foolish waste of public property was stopped two years later when the ordinance was repealed in 1854.

SPORTS AND PASTIMES OF THE FIFTIES

The pleasure loving element in El Pueblo was too strong to allow affairs of state to be taken too seriously; we find horse-racing, cock-fighting, and even bull fighting, still occupying much of the people's time and thoughts. Bull-fighting, or even bear and bull baiting had not yet been stopped, though an element for the prevention of cruelty was constantly being increased by an influx of Americans of the better class, and especially the American women.⁵⁶

But of all the sports horse-racing stood first. On March 21, 1852, one of the greatest races ever held in California took place between the horses of Pio Pico and José Andrés Sepúlveda.⁵⁷

Pio Pico was an inveterate gambler, as well as a lover of horse-flesh, owning several very fast animals. His only rival in this respect was Don José Andrés Sepúlveda, grantee of the great Rancho San Joaquin, located between the present towns of Tustin and Laguna Beach. For some time Don Pio's mounts had carried off all prizes. Sepúlveda was frantic. Pico's famous California horse, "Sarco," was not to be beaten. Don José heard of a wonderful mare in Australia, "Black Swan," that had never been beaten

in a race, so without more ado the intrepid Don proceeded to buy and import this wonder horse. She arrived in 1852, shortly before the time scheduled for the great race. Sepúlveda went himself to San Francisco to meet "Black Swan" and see that she was turned over to a proper groom to bring her down to the Angel City.

The race was to be nine miles—four and a half miles down San Pedro Road and return. The news spread far and wide. The day of the race saw everyone from San Francisco to San Diego who was interested in horse-flesh, and had money to bet, swarming into the Pueblo. The principals' stakes were enormous, being \$25,000 in gold, in addition to 500 horses, 500 mares, 500 heifers, 500 calves, and 500 sheep; and beside these stakes, the Señora Sepúlveda rode to the scene of the never-to-be-forgotten event with a large silk bandana filled with \$50 gold slugs which she distributed among her servants and friends to be bet on the Australian wonder mare. The populace followed her example, and that day a veritable fortune changed hands in the old Pueblo on the banks of Fray Crespi's Rio Porciuncula. Black Swan won the race with ease, and a good sized rancho could have been stocked with Don José Andrés' winnings.⁵⁸ This race is one of the many examples of the way Pio Pico's enormous wealth was thrown to the winds.

A DUEL IS FOUGHT IN THE PUEBLO

While horse-racing and bull-fighting were the pastimes of the *paisano*, I fear we must admit that drinking and gambling were those of the Americano in California. We have seen how drinking led to the establishment of a strictly American saloon, and to the building of the first wooden structure in the town, and how Colonel J. Bankhead Magruder made the town howl on each of his visits, but he had not yet staged his most spectacular form of amusement. In the fall of 1852, he became a principal in the first and only formal duel ever recorded in the City of the Angels.⁵⁹

At this time an uproarious party was given by the convivial Colonel at Harry Monroe's restaurant on Commercial Street, and after much wine of rare vintage had "overflowed," the topic of conversation drifted to the subject of "the greatest man." Colonel Magruder claimed that honor for Andrew Jackson, while Colonel J. O. Wheeler, who later became publisher of the city's second newspaper, drank to "Henry Clay, the Greatest American Statesman." Thompson Burrill, esteemed Sheriff, made his toast to "Daniel Webster, the Greatest Man the World ever produced." This was too much for one of the revelers not yet heard from, Dr. William B. Osburn, who stood up somewhat unsteadily and said, "My father who was the Sheriff of Cayuga County, New York, was the greatest of all Americans." This was too much for the doughty Colonel, who vehemently replied, "Doctor, you are a damn fool!" No gentleman could stand such a retort. The little doctor immediately challenged the Colonel to a duel, which challenge was as

promptly accepted. The combat was to take place at once on the spot. The weapons were to be pistols, and the distance, from end to end of the table. Major Horace Bell describing the affair says:⁶⁰

Wilson Jones, the Doctor's second, got the word and the principals, without shaking hands, took their respective stations, the majestic form of Magruder towering above that of the diminutive doctor, who paled and shuddered when brought face to face with the grim-visaged son of Mars. All was suspense. The word was to be Ready! fire! One, two, three! At the word "ready," to the dismay of all, the doctor blazed away. When the smoke cleared away, to the horror of the valiant disciple of Esculapius, his antagonist stood as stiff and defiant as an avenging demon. The doctor quailed; Magruder glared savagely on him for a full minute. The spectators, spell-bound, looked on with horrible forebodings. Magruder took two "side steps to the right," which brought him clear of the end of the table. He then advanced the "right foot full to the front," with his glaring eye-balls bent fiercely on the now terrified doctor. He then brought the left foot up to the rear of the right heel, and leveled his derringer at the ghastly face of the trembling Doctor. Then he advanced the right foot as before, and in this way, with firm and unrelenting tread, he slowly advanced on the now thoroughly frightened Doctor, who made a movement toward the door. The spectators interposed, and cut off the possibility of retreat in that direction. The Doctor tried to flank the Colonel by skirmishing around the table. Magruder faced to the left, as though moving on a pivot, and kept the direful derringer aimed directly at the Doctor's pallid countenance. In the excitement the Doctor ran under the table, crawled through, grasped the knees of the irate hero, and affectionately embracing them, said: "Colonel Magruder, for the love of God, spare me for my family."

The Colonel gave him a kick, and said: "Damn you! I'll spare you for the hangman."

And so ended this remarkable duel, which would have ended in "murder most foul" only the derringers aforesaid were then and there only loaded with *powder and bottle corks*, a circumstance only known at the time to the respective seconds.

Thus was fought the one recorded duel of the fair southern metropolis. And while we have heard much of one of the principals of this bloodless duel, something should be told of the other, Dr. Osburn, one of the outstanding American characters of the Pueblo in the fifties. He had come to Los Angeles with Stevenson's Regiment in 1847, and was one of the many who remained as settlers. Dr. William B. Osburn was the first druggist to operate in the city, having had a drug store, with a makeshift stock, as early as 1850. He was the town's first postmaster, and was an arch politician, resorting to unique methods to bring votes to his party.⁶¹ He filled many minor offices and later was elected to the State legislature. But his usefulness did not stop at politics, for in 1854 he was the first resident of the State to send California grapes for exhibition in New York, and in 1855 he imported from Rochester, New York, the first important shipment of rose-bushes, ornamental shrubs, and fruit trees, to be brought into Los Angeles since the American occupation.⁶²

GENERAL PHINEAS BANNING

Until 1852, transportation into Los Angeles was either on horse-back, or in the antique ox-drawn *carreta*, and many a squeak announced approach-

ing loads of merchandise as the ponderous wooden wheels turned on their dry axles while the oxen ambled along the dusty road from San Pedro to the Pueblo. But in 1852 a change came.

Late in 1851, from the Quaker State of Pennsylvania, arrived one who was to make that change. He was a portly young man by the name of Phineas Banning, and by 1852 he had formed a partnership with the pioneer, Don David Alexander. These two established a stage line between the Port of San Pedro and the City of Los Angeles.

Horace Bell who arrived on the Steamer *Sea Bird* from San Francisco in October, 1852, found the genial Banning at the port, and in his *Reminiscences* gives a vivid description of the journey—or race—between two Banning stages, up to Los Angeles.⁶³

Later Phineas Banning established a freighting service to various points in southern California, and even to Salt Lake City, and Arizona. He became a foremost citizen of the county, standing always for right. No man whose name appears in the history of Los Angeles has a fairer record than he either for character or for achievement.

General Banning received his title as Brigadier General of the State Militia, but as a master of transportation his name will always lead in Southern California. In 1857 he acquired part of the Dominguez Rancho and founded the town of Wilmington, using that place for his seat of action, but for some time the place amounted to little, as was attested by J. Ross Browne in 1867,⁶⁴ when he gave a most dreary word picture of the "city" of General Banning's dream, and made a drawing of the new town. The General founded the Wilmington Transportation Company, and was a first booster for a free harbor at San Pedro. To him also belongs the distinction of being the first railroad builder of Southern California, for it was he who headed the company that built the Los Angeles and San Pedro Railroad, the first line to enter Los Angeles. General Banning's hand was felt in almost every important development which took place in Los Angeles from the time of his arrival in 1851 until his death in 1885.

THE HISTORIC TEMPLE BLOCK

The most historic building in Los Angeles and the one that played the most important part in its development was the old Temple Block, located until recent years in the wedge of Spring and Main streets.

This old block, originally a one-story adobe building, was erected on the lot described, which had been granted to William Wolfskill in 1838 as a house lot. He sold the lot that same year to Richard Laughlin, one of the members of the Pattie party of 1828, who erected a dwelling house on it, and some time between that date and 1848 it passed into the hands of Juan Bouet, for it was he who sold it to Don Juan Temple on June 6, 1848.

Juan Temple built a two-story building on the site in either the latter part

of 1851 or early part of 1852, and this building, the fourth two-story adobe in the town, with its upper and lower verandas around three sides, and its flat, tar-covered roof, stood until 1871, when, after John Temple's death, his brother, F. P. F. Temple, erected a three-story brick building on the site, which in turn was demolished to make way for the new 28-story Los Angeles City Hall.

At one time this building was called "Lawyers' Block," because its upper stories were entirely occupied by the legal fraternity, and some of the most noted lawyers of the city had their offices in the old building.⁶⁵

In the old two-story adobe Temple Block were housed some of the earliest business establishments of old Los Angeles, and these merchants soon found it necessary to put up a barricade at the front entrance of the wedge, since the *paisanos*, a race of centaurs, when too heavily laden with aguardiente, persisted in riding their horses directly into the building from the street.

The property of the old Temple Block was the cause of a most interesting law suit by the city in 1891, to quiet title to part of the property claimed for sidewalks. At this suit nearly every old-timer in Los Angeles, then living, testified; among them Stephen C. Foster, early Mayor, C. Ducommun, pioneer hardware dealer of 1849, Antonio F. Coronel, Judge Andrew J. King, and Don Ramon Valenzuela, grandson of the famed Claudio Lopez, who had lived his entire life in Los Angeles. History lived again in their various testimonies.⁶⁶

THE DONS HOLD THEIR OWN

Antonio Francisco Coronel was elected Mayor of Los Angeles for the year 1835, the first Spanish Californian chosen for that office.

But the Dons had by no means taken a back seat upon the transfer of their country to the gringo, and for twenty-five years after the change of flag the native Californian was prominent in public affairs. While many of the men who had dominated the political situation under the Mexican flag, such as Pio Pico and José Antonio Carrillo, dropped out of the public eye, others rose to the heights for which they were well fitted, and it is only fair to say that in every case the Spanish Californian filled the office to which he was elected in a most creditable manner, many of them being re-elected term after term.

It is well to mention some of the more prominent of these Californians who were active in public affairs during the first quarter of a century of the American régime.

Antonio F. Coronel served, not only as mayor, but five terms as county assessor, and superintendent of schools. Agustin Olvera was county judge, and supervisor several times. Tomas A. Sanchez served seven years as sheriff, while Don Cristobal Aguilar was elected mayor of the city three times and was a member of the board of supervisors several times. He likewise served as city councilman for a number of terms, and during many years was city

zanjero, at the time a more important office from point of salary than that of mayor. Pablo de la Guerra was a district judge, then was elected to the State Senate, which office he resigned to become United States marshal of the Los Angeles district. General Andrés Pico made as good an American citizen as he had a Mexican. He was a brigadier general of the State Militia, and was elected four times to the Assembly, and then to the State Senate.

Other Californians who held important county offices were Juan Sepúlveda, Rafael Guirado, Manuel Garfias, and Ygnacio Del Valle, while Don Manuel Requena, L. Cota, H. Avila, José Sepúlveda, F. Machado, Vicente Lugo and Francisco Palomares were county supervisors at one time or another, as also were Coronel, Olvera, Sanchez and Aguilar, when they were not busy directing affairs in other offices.⁶⁷ In later years Ygnacio Sepúlveda, son of José Andrés, became one of the county's most able judges, and Reginaldo Del Valle, the son of the first county recorder, was elected to the State Senate, and for years served on the Los Angeles Water Commission.

THREE NOTORIOUS BANDITS OF THE FIFTIES

Los Angeles, the "Queen of the Cow Counties," as she was derisively called by the northerner, was a hot spot of prosperity in the early fifties, due to the tremendous trade in cattle there carried on with the northern mines, and to the high prices the cattle brought. Gambling was rife, and with it lawlessness grew to astounding proportions.

There were many minor criminals brought into the southern city with the backwash from the mines, and among these many, three loomed up in the life of the town as masters of their chosen vocation. In the order of their coming, these were Salomon Pico, Jack Powers and Joaquin Murieta, who, as leaders, would have put to blush the modern gang-leaders of today.

Salomon Pico, the most treacherous of the three though the least powerful, was a young man of good family, and until the American conquest, bore a good reputation. Upon the ascendancy of the American, however, he decided to lead a life of crime, concentrating his efforts on the hated gringo. Salomon was the brother of Don José de Jesus Pico, grantee of the Piedra Blanca Rancho in San Luis Obispo County,⁶⁸ who became Frémont's right-hand man after being pardoned by the "Pathfinder" for his activity in the Natividad affair.⁶⁹ Salomon was also a cousin of Governor Pico, and of General Andrés Pico.⁷⁰ Coming as he did from a good family and preying only on the Americans, he was protected and almost revered by a great part of the native population. His reign of crime extended over a period of ten years, and in 1851 he attempted to assassinate Judge Benjamin Hayes for a judgment he had rendered against some native Californians, when the judge was standing in front of his home in Los Angeles; and as had happened before in many instances, he was spirited away by his countrymen, though a posse under Sheriff Barton, the intrepid man-hunter of Los Angeles, imme-

diately followed his trail, almost within gun-shot distance. Salomon Pico was never known to attack a man in the open, but would invariably sneak up behind his victim, and either shoot or stab him in the back. Many times he or his men would creep up to the camp-fire of some American cattle buyer and stab him while he slept, and then at his leisure, procure the gold belt⁷¹ that was worn under the buyer's clothing.

About 1857 Salomon Pico was run out of the country, and joined a colony of Spanish Californian exiles in Baja California, where he became a sort of body guard to General José Castro, who had fled across the border, and even received a land grant from him. But his ten years' training in California had so moulded his mode of living that he met an untimely death at the hands of Governor Esparza three years later, in 1860.⁷²

The second of this bandit trio who terrorized Los Angeles was Jack Powers, an American who had come to California with Stevenson's Regiment, and after being mustered out, had become apparently a California ranchero, making Santa Barbara his headquarters, but in reality he gave his time and energy to outlawry and headed the most dare-devil band of robbers the State has ever known.

Jack, or "Jackie" as the *paisanos* called him, held much power among the native population, and was a great organizer. His crimes would be committed in one part of the country, and in an amazingly short lapse of time he would show up in another location, far from the scene of the depredation. In this respect his work so much resembled that of Joaquin Murieta that many thought them one and the same, but there is no evidence to show that they ever were in the same band.

During the years 1851, '52 and '53 Jack Powers spent much of his time in Los Angeles. "Nigger Alley" knew him well, and Major Horace Bell tells us that Jack Powers, who was a tall handsome fellow, stalked through the gambling dens with the air of a lion walking among rats.⁷³ Jack ruled the gamblers: there were four hundred of them in the town, which they controlled; so, according to Bell, Jack held Los Angeles under his thumb.

Jack Powers' band probably robbed more cattle-buyers on their way from San Francisco to Los Angeles than did all the other brigands operating in the State during the fifties. In fact there was a canyon off the Santa Ynez Valley called "Cañon de las Calaveras" (Canyon of Skulls) on account of the finding of so many bodies of slain Americans there with bullet holes through their heads, but Americans called this canyon "Jack Powers' Graveyard."⁷⁴

For several years Jack roamed up and down the State, until the people rose in their wrath in 1857 and cut down his band to the point that, with one follower, Rafael Monea, he too was run across the border into Lower California. A short time after, these two mortally wounded each other in a knife fight, their bodies, half eaten up by hogs, afterward being found by natives in a farmyard. So ended the life of California's most picturesque bandit.

The third of the trio, the renowned Joaquin Murieta, was the best known and most bloodthirsty. Joaquin had terrorized Los Angeles all through the year 1852, but he had evaded the law continuously without any real evidence against him in Los Angeles County.

His really bloodthirsty deeds had been perpetrated in the mining districts of the north. Harry Love, a deputy sheriff, had made several attempts to run him down, and had captured several of his band. Love was a brave man and was respected by Murieta, but about this time a deputy sheriff of Santa Barbara County, named Wilson, came into Los Angeles, bragging that he would kill or capture Joaquin within a week. Murieta had no respect for Wilson, and so, ascertaining where in the city he was domiciled, he at once staged a fist fight in front of the place, between two of his followers. Sheriff Wilson, upon hearing the uproar, stepped into the street. As he watched the fight a Mexican came close to him, and as his eyes met Wilson's he hissed—"I am Joaquin"—shot Wilson dead, and jumping on his horse, escaped, with scores of men with gaping mouths watching him.⁷⁵

Joaquin had a hide-out at San Gabriel in the home of a cobbler, Cipriano Sandoval. In San Gabriel also lived General Joshua H. Bean, who had raised a company of men with the sole intention of capturing Joaquin Murieta. After the killing of Wilson, Murieta made his way to San Gabriel, and on a night early in November, 1852, General Bean was jerked from his horse and killed by unknown men. Later Reyes Feliz, Murieta's brother-in-law, the cobbler Sandoval, Benito Lopez, and Felipe Reid, the stepson of Hugo Reid, were arrested for the crime. All denied any knowledge of the affair, but Reyes Feliz, on being quizzed, admitted his membership in Joaquin's band, and furthermore implicated Murieta in the stealing of a band of horses from the La Brea Rancho about a year before. This was enough to satisfy the people of Los Angeles that Joaquin was as guilty of the murder as his men, who were tried, convicted and hanged on December 12, 1852, with the exception of Felipe Reid, who later was proved to have been the actual murderer.⁷⁶

Joaquin saw that Los Angeles was no place for him now, for the populace was thoroughly aroused. He left the southern county, but in the north he carried on the bloodiest wave of crime and depredation he had yet perpetrated, and at last the people, both north and south, banded together to stop him.

Harry Love was made captain of a company of rangers in Calaveras, and in Los Angeles a company of rangers was organized about the first of June, 1853, under Captain Alexander Hope, one of the city's first physicians and the man for the place. These rangers, numbering one hundred men, carried law and order into the countryside for several years to come. Many prominent men in Los Angeles were members of this band of law-keepers, and on their roster were the names of David Alexander, John G. Nichols, Major Horace Bell, Matthew Keller, John Downey, Stephen C. Foster, Phineas

Banning, F. L. Guirado, J. Lancaster Brent, Juan Sepúlveda, Agustín Olvera and Benjamin Hayes.⁷⁷

Joaquín's days, with his hands being attacked from all sides, were now numbered. On July 24, 1853, Captain Love with his Rangers came upon Murieta, with his henchman Three-Fingered Jack and a few others, while they were resting and off their guard in the San Joaquin Valley. Joaquín Murieta and Three-Fingered Jack were shot, and for identification, Joaquín's head and Three-Fingered Jack's mutilated hand were severed from their bodies and taken to Fort Miller, where the little village of Millerton is today. There Dr. Wm. F. Edgar, the Post Surgeon, put the trophies into whiskey and arsenic for safe keeping,⁷⁸ and they were then taken to San Francisco and put on exhibition in a museum where they remained until destroyed by the great fire of 1906, more than half a century later. Dr. Edgar, after leaving the Army, became a resident of Los Angeles, where he was a leading citizen, taking an active part in affairs of the city until his death on August 23, 1897.⁷⁹

ENTER BRICK—FAREWELL ADOBE

Up to the year 1852, no building material other than adobe and wood had been used in the little City of the Angels. But in that year Captain Jesse Hunter, who had come with the Mormon Battalion and remained as a settler, fired the first kiln of brick, at a spot on the west side of Fort Street, now Broadway, between Second and Third streets.

From this first kiln of brick was built, early in 1853, the first brick house in Los Angeles, on Main Street south of Third. A second kiln was burned in 1853, and the same year the second brick building in the city was built from it. This, the first building of any kind to be erected by Los Angeles County, was a jail and was just back of the old home of José Antonio Rocha, which was then used as a City Hall and County Court House. The jail stood half way between Spring and New High Street, just north of Franklin.

The use of fire-burnt bricks now began in earnest. Brick homes were built in 1854 for Guadalupe Ross and in 1855 for ex-Mayor Nichols, the latter on the site of his old adobe, where later the old Temple Court House was to be built.

On March 1, 1854, Joseph Mullaly and Samuel Ayers arrived in town and at once entered the brick business. In August of that year, Daniel Porter came to Los Angeles and joined them. This firm, known as Mullaly, Porter and Ayers, in 1855 built the first flour mill in the town for Abel Stearns and Jonathan Scott, known as "The Eagle Mills," and constructed many other brick buildings in the city. By 1858 they had reached an annual production of two million bricks, and adobe for general construction was doomed.⁸⁰

A PIONEER BUILDER ARRIVES

On February 1, 1853, Los Angeles saw the arrival of William H. Perry, a carpenter, who brought with him the first stationary engine to be seen in

the south. At first Perry devoted himself to carpentering, but after a couple of years he formed a partnership with James D. Brady, opening one of the first furniture stores in Los Angeles. Later Wallace Woodworth, a son-in-law of old Don Antonio Maria Lugo, bought Brady's interest, and in 1861, the firm of Perry and Woodworth established the first lumber yard, the first regular planing mill, and went into contracting in a big way.⁸¹

William Perry was a leader and organizer. He later founded the Los Angeles City Gas Company, which he left to head the Los Angeles City Water Company. He also served as city councilman and county supervisor. No man of the community held a more important place in its business life. He seemed to have the touch of Midas, for, having come to the city a poor man, upon his death he was numbered among the wealthiest in the south.

Another pioneer of note arrived in 1853, Harris Newmark, who became one of the most important commercial figures in Los Angeles; but his life and endeavors are so well covered by his own book of reminiscences, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, that further mention here is not necessary.

THE ROUND HOUSE

Remundo Alexander, a French sailor, came to Los Angeles in the late forties or early fifties, and opened a saloon.⁸² He soon married Maria Valdez, a native Californian, and on March 3, 1854, bought a lot on Main Street, about a hundred feet south of Third Street, running from Main to Spring Street, from Juan Bouvette and his wife Loreta Cota. Remundo, the sailor-saloonkeeper, decided to vary the architecture of the old Pueblo by erecting on this lot a house to be patterned after some he had seen and admired in Africa while on his maritime pursuits.⁸³

This house was built of adobe, cylindrical in form, and two stories high, being the last two-story house of adobe built in the city, as far as the records show. Naturally this house, being a freak, caused much talk in the little City of the Angels, and Alexander, himself, probably was not so well pleased with it, for after living in it for two years, he sold it, on July 28, 1856, to George Lehman, known always as "Dutch George."⁸⁴

After Lehman came into possession of the "Round House," as the building was always called, he enlarged it by enclosing the adobe walls in a frame extension, about ten feet deep, making quite a good-sized building and forming an octagon of the old circular house, over the windows of which he painted the names of the original thirteen states, with that of California added. Lehman had always maintained that he had found Paradise when he came to Los Angeles, and with this thought in mind he started in to make this new purchase resemble the Garden of Eden, as he imagined it. He built a labyrinth of arbors, which were soon covered with a profusion of vines and roses, while in the grounds he planted a variety of exotic shrubs. To guard his "Eden" from intruders, he planted a row of "tunas," the native flat-leaved

cactus, across the Main and Spring Street fronts, and these cacti grew to be of gigantic proportions, forming a thick hedge, before they were removed. Dutch George also built concrete statues of Adam and Eve as well as the Serpent, in this Eden, and made a beer garden of the place, to which he charged a small admission. The old resort remained for more than twenty years a popular place of retreat, and on holidays it was the scene of some great gatherings, playing in its way the part the old Russ Gardens played in early San Francisco.

The old landmark was first opened as a resort in the fall of 1858, it evidently having taken Lehman two years to get it to the point of perfection he was striving for; and late in that year this advertisement appeared in the *Star*:

THE GARDEN OF PARADISE

The handsome grounds of the Round House in the South part of Main Street have lately been fitted up as a public garden, under the above rather high sounding title. In it are to be seen elegantly portrayed the primeval family, Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel; also the old serpent and the golden apples, all according to record. There is beside a fraine work containing what are called flying horses for the amusement of children. A band of music stationed on the balcony of the house plays at intervals. The garden is tastefully laid out and is much frequented by citizens, especially on Sundays.⁸⁵

The Round House passed from poor old Dutch George's hands in 1879, through foreclosure. Later it was used as a school house, then as a cheap lodging house, until it disappeared before the march of progress during the great boom in 1887.⁸⁶

Surely no landmark in the confines of the old town of Los Angeles lives more vividly in the minds of the early residents than does the old Round House, and of late years there has been much discussion as to its exact location, which was on the site of the present Nos. 311-313-315-317 South Main Street, and Nos. 308-310-312-314 South Spring Street.

A BETTER ELEMENT ORGANIZES

Crime no doubt dominated the larger part of society in Los Angeles in 1853, but a better element was slowly coming in, and we have seen how the Methodist Minister Adam Bland did his part by converting a saloon into a Methodist church this year, and conducting that church to the great joy of the better class Protestant Americans, for the Catholic church heretofore had been the one haven of peace and quiet in the Pueblo.

As early as 1853, there were two denominations carrying on religious work in the little town—the Roman Catholic and the Methodist Episcopal. The Baptists had no meeting place in the city, but in 1853, a Reverend Mr. Freeman held Baptist services at El Monte, the Texas settlement just at the city's gate.

AN AFRICAN METHODIST CHURCH

The few Negroes here in 1854 established an African M. E. Church, and held services in the home of "Uncle" Bob Owen,⁸⁷ a freed slave, who with

his wife "Aunt" Winnie and son Charles, had arrived in Los Angeles from Texas in December, 1853. "Uncle" Bob made a snug fortune in real estate before his death in 1865.⁸⁸

One of this first group of Negro worshippers was Biddy Mason who had come from Mississippi in 1851 to Los Angeles as a slave of Robert Smith. At the time of the organization of the African Church she was a nurse in the home of Dr. Griffin, and by hard work and shrewd management she amassed quite a fortune before her death.⁸⁹

THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

On October 1, 1852, Rev. James G. Johnson preached the first Presbyterian sermon in the Pueblo,⁹⁰ but no attempt to establish a church for that denomination was made until late in 1854, when Rev. James Woods from San Francisco arrived in Los Angeles to establish it. He preached his first sermon on November 12, 1854, in the wooden building back of the home of José Antonio Carrillo, no doubt the building that had been used as a Methodist church by Adam Bland. The next Sunday, however, the Reverend Mr. Woods did not use this borrowed church, but held his services in the room of the Court of Sessions,⁹¹ and from that time on the meetings of the Presbyterian Church were held in the old court house at the corner of Spring and Franklin streets. It was there on March 18, 1855,⁹² that the first Presbyterian Church of Los Angeles was organized. James Woods carried on for a year, when he was called to Santa Rosa.

JEWISH SERVICES

The Jewish people of Los Angeles, and there were many here in the early fifties, forming part of the better element, had always observed their religious festivals from the earliest days, meeting at the homes of various of their people,⁹³ though there was no building used as a synagogue until after the Civil War.

In 1854, Joseph Newmark, an uncle of Harris Newmark, arrived from San Francisco, bringing with him one of the first Chinese to reach the city, only two others being noted in the records as residents before that date: Alluce (Ah Loos) and Ahfou (Ah Foo), who were servants in the home of Robert Haley in 1850.⁹⁴ Joseph Newmark acted as rabbi, and held services in his home, and this same year organized the Hebrew Benevolent Society, the first charitable institution to be formed in the city.⁹⁵

FIRST LOS ANGELES HOSPITAL

In 1855 the Catholic Sisters of Charity arrived and were domiciled in the home of Don Cristobal Aguilar, where on May 31, 1858, they opened "The Los Angeles Infirmary,"⁹⁶ the first hospital to be established in Los Angeles. This was later moved to Naud Street, then to Sunset Boulevard, and "The Sisters' Hospital," as it was renamed, in time grew into the present "St. Vincent's Hospital."

CONDITIONS CALLING FOR REFORM

Truly the condition of society in Los Angeles at the time of the beginning of Protestant religious effort was appalling. An excellent picture of this low level is given in the *Southern Californian* in November, 1854, in which the editor describes his stroll through the streets of the town one Sunday afternoon, ending in "Nigger Alley," where he saw "well dressed gentlemen mixing freely with drunken Indians—the fair señorita and the Indian squaw walking along in apparent harmony—drunken men and women strewn along the sidewalks and gutters, and at one point two drunken squaws were having a howling hair-pulling match."

The Reverend James Woods was made a nervous wreck by the conditions surrounding him and was forced to leave after a year's stay. The last entry in his diary, kept while in Los Angeles, well explains the reason:

April 29, 1855, Sabbath. I preached this morning on the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah; and had I wanted material for supposed scenes in those cities I could have found them in the very scenes now transpiring around me. This is very much like the scenes of Negro Alley, the place for the gathering of low drunken Indians. But here in Main Street we have a sample of the leading people of the Californian population. Their horses are fine and richly caparisoned. Children cry or halloo, men quarrel, dogs fight. The noisy crowds throng the street, sit upon my door steps, lean against my doors and windows, and peer through the shutters. Every few minutes I hear loud voices of Americans among them, betting, cursing and blaspheming, as they stand leaning against my window blinds. What sort of officers have we that such scenes as these are exhibited right in town, and at the head of Main Street?

But other sources beside the church were working to better affairs. The Rangers were attempting to thwart the lawless element, schools were being established, the Free Masons of the community were organizing, and journalism was to play its part.

EDUCATION ADVANCES IN THE TOWN

In 1854 Stephen C. Foster was Mayor and also Superintendent of Schools. This year the first public school building was built, at the northwest corner of Second and Spring streets, a square brick building, one of the earliest brick structures. It was opened for classes in the spring of 1855. This was followed in 1856 by the second school, a two-story brick building on Bath Street, now North Main, just above the Plaza.

A MASONIC LODGE IS CHARTERED

In 1851, in the drug store of Downey and McFarland, an attempt was made to organize a Masonic Lodge, for there were many Masons living in and around Los Angeles, and while they had talked Masonry among themselves they had no place to meet as Masons; but at this time it was decided there was not enough material to organize a successful lodge so the effort came to naught.

After two more years had gone by enough Masons had come into Los

Angeles to justify a second attempt. On March 16, 1853, the Masons of the town met in the offices of Myron Norton, a lawyer and leader, who had arrived in 1852; and with Norton acting as Secretary, they formed the organization that was to become Los Angeles Lodge No. 42, to which the Grand Master of the State granted a dispensation on October 10, 1853. The first meeting of the lodge was held under dispensation, December 17, 1853, in a little building across the street from the Bella Union on Main Street, next to the garden of the Frenchman Bouchet. Present at this first meeting were eight members and six visitors.⁹⁷ The institution of the lodge and the installation of officers took place on June 24, 1854. This occasioned the first Masonic procession in Los Angeles County. Sixty men participated, and their appearance in full regalia excited the keenest interest on the part of the native population.

The charter members of the lodge were: Hilliard P. Dorsey, Worshipful Master; Jacob Elias, Senior Warden; Thomas Foster, Junior Warden; Arnold Jacobi, Secretary; James R. Barton, Treasurer; and with Dr. A. P. Hodges, Dr. Obed Macy, Lewis C. Granger, Timothy Foster, Jacob Rich, A. C. Clark, Morris L. Goodman, and W. A. Smith, Tyler of the lodge, we have the first roster of Los Angeles Lodge No. 42, F. & A. M.

It was not until 1858 that the lodge had its own building, erected by Perry and Woodworth on the east side of Main Street, just south of the first wooden building, a few rods south of the Plaza. This old building, a two-story brick, with a quaint iron balcony in front of the French windows of the second story, is still standing at 416½ North Main Street.

The influence of the new Masonic Lodge on the city was great. Nearly every important American inhabitant of the period, from its organization until the Civil War, was a Mason, and those who were not affiliated with the lodge, were very frequent visitors. Many of the early Masons, men who had been made Masons before coming to California, had married into Spanish Californian families. Some of these immediately joined the lodge, while others, on account of family affairs, did not become members, but visited almost as regularly as the enrolled members.

A roster of the members of Los Angeles Lodge No. 42, during the fifties, would make one think he was reading a list of the members of the Chamber of Commerce, had there been such an organization at the time. Some of the more prominent members of the fraternity at this time were: Henry N. Alexander, Agent for Wells Fargo & Co.; James H. Lander, lawyer, who had come from Boston with the Mellus brothers; Wm. H. Peterson, a lawyer of ability, and a brother-in-law of Ina Coolbrith, who became California's Poet Laureate; Sam Prager, merchant from Grass Valley; B. D. Wilson, the pioneer; Jonathan Scott; Benjamin S. Eaton; William Workman, Sr., pioneer of '41; Sam Foy; H. D. Barrows; Sam Meyer; J. Frank Burns, Sheriff; George Carson; Harris Newmark; I. W. Hellman; Caspar Behrendt; Wil-

liam H. Perry; Wallace Woodward; J. Lancaster Brent; Louis Vignes; Jean L. Sainsevain; John Goller, the pioneer wagon maker; Matthew Keller, who had studied for the Catholic priesthood; and John G. Downey, later Governor of California, who represented Los Angeles Lodge No. 42 at the Grand Lodge in 1860. All these were contributing members of the first Masonic Lodge.

And in those days, these well known men and Masons were frequent visitors: Isaac Williams, of Rancho Chino; Judge William G. Dryden; Cameron C. Thom; F. P. F. Temple; Don Abel Stearns, who had been made a Mason in Massachusetts in 1820;⁹⁸ Phineas Banning; Colonel E. J. C. Kewen; and Julio Carrillo, who was the first native Californian to be made a Mason. A study of these names will give one an excellent idea of the influence the lodge exercised over affairs of importance in the early days of the city.

A NEW GOLD RUSH IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Much excitement was caused in Los Angeles in 1854 by the gold discoveries on the Kern River and in San Gabriel Canyon. Since both of these districts used Los Angeles as their base of supplies, there was created quite a little business flurry. The city was agog with stories of untold wealth to be had almost for the asking.

Gold was first discovered in San Gabriel Canyon by Captain Hannager and party of Los Angeles.⁹⁹ Many men from the northern mines were attracted by this new strike, and for years there was quite some activity in the canyon.

An interesting letter was written by one of the miners who had come down from Yuba County, to an old associate at Camptonville, in which he says: "I bought in a claim here lately, as good as I ever had I think," and he goes on to say that most of the miners were green, and so could not get as much gold out as they might otherwise have done.¹⁰⁰ But the enthusiasm was great, and at one time more than a thousand men were mining in the canyon. There was quite a little town located there, all sign of which has now disappeared.

The lack of water hindered a great production of gold, but in the eighteen years that followed the discovery, Messrs. Ducommun and Jones, merchants of Los Angeles, had purchased two million dollars worth of gold dust from the placer claims of San Gabriel. New and richer strikes in Arizona in 1865 drew the miners away from the canyon, only a few Chinese remaining who afterwards drifted to better diggings.

EARLY LOS ANGELES JOURNALISM

The newspaper played its part in the early days to further progress and curb crime.

The *Los Angeles Star*, the first newspaper in the field, was three years old when a new journal, the *Southern Californian*, made its appearance on July 20, 1854, started by C. E. Richards, as a weekly paper. In November, Butts and Wheeler became the proprietors, and a year later the ownership passed into the hands of Andrés Pico. Shortly thereafter publication was suspended.¹⁰¹

But while the *Star* and the *Southern Californian* were shedding their journalistic light on the community, the Spanish Americans decided they should have a paper printed in their own tongue, so Francisco P. Ramirez, who had conducted the Spanish columns of the *Star*, launched a weekly paper, on June 8, 1855, *El Clamor Publico*, the first Los Angeles paper to be printed entirely in Spanish and the first Republican paper of the city.¹⁰² For four years "El Clamor" struggled valiantly, but ceased publication in December, 1859, for lack of support.

On March 27, 1858, Colonel J. J. Warner, one of the most colorful figures in early Los Angeles life, began the publication of the *Southern Vineyard*, using the press of the defunct *Southern Californian*. Starting as a weekly Democratic paper, it changed to Republican in sentiment just before it stopped publication in 1860, and for a short period it appeared as a semi-weekly. The *Southern Vineyard* was the fourth and last newspaper to make its appearance in Los Angeles in the fifties.

A BOOK IS PUBLISHED IN THE OLD PUEBLO

And now that printing presses were rolling and type was in the land, a weird genius of doubtful standing decided that a book should be printed in the town, and the year 1854 marked the date of publication of the first book of any description printed in Los Angeles.¹⁰³ The book was written by a pioneer of 1841, Doctor William Money, a real eccentric, a jack-of-all-trades, a phrenologist, and a self-made man according to his own statement. Dr. Money also claimed to be a bishop and a deacon.

This first book of Los Angeles, which received a two-column review in the *Southern Californian*, by Colonel J. O. Wheeler, the editor of the paper, bore the title "Reform of the New Testament Church," by "Wm. Money, Deacon and Defender of the Faith of Jesus Christ." In his introduction the "Bishop" declares, among his other qualifications for writing the book and leading his sect, that he "was born with four teeth, and the likeness of a rainbow in my right eye."

The book was written in both English and Spanish, that all the inhabitants might read, and since it was a pamphlet, it has become almost unobtainable, being among the scarcest of Californiana.¹⁰⁴ Later Dr. Money wrote a book, "California Family Medical Instructor," which was never printed. The eccentric old gentleman died in 1890 in San Gabriel, where he had lived, in an odd-looking house filled with piles of his phrenological charts and the remainder of his first book, having spent nearly fifty years in the southern part of the state.

A MAYOR RESIGNS TO LEAD A MOB

Conditions were such in the city during 1854 that the better element felt that if order was ever to be brought about, the people would have to make themselves the agency to bring it. Great numbers of the worst element that

had made necessary the organizing of the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco had drifted south to Los Angeles when the northern metropolis became too hot for them. Conditions in San Francisco were reflected here, and as the wheels of Justice ground as slowly here as there, the decent people of Los Angeles decided to stop matters criminal if such a thing were possible.

There was a noticeable increase in crimes committed by Americans, and on October 13, 1854, an undesirable, Dave Brown, murdered his companion, Pinckney Clifford, without provocation; and coming at a time when the press was deploring the terrible conditions then existing, this crime inflamed the townspeople to such an extent that they gathered to wreak vengeance on the murderer.

Stephen C. Foster, then Mayor, met the mob, and pleaded with them to disperse and allow justice to take its course, promising that if the courts failed to punish the man, he, Foster, would resign his office and lead them in taking the law into their own hands.¹⁰⁵ No man was more respected or admired than Stephen Foster, a Yale graduate, who had come here as interpreter of the Mormon Battalion, had been made first alcalde under the American régime, and was at that time a lieutenant of the Rangers, then quite active. Showing their confidence, the crowd disbanded.

On November 30 Brown was tried before Judge Hayes, found guilty, and sentenced to hang on January 12, 1855, the same day that Felipe Alvitre, a half-breed Mexican, was to hang for the murder of James Ellington at El Monte. Brown's attorneys, Jonathan Scott, Cameron E. Thom and J. A. Watson, all master minds, obtained a stay of execution on January 10, just two days before the date set for execution. No such relief, however, came for Alvitre, and he was hanged as scheduled.

The fact that one guilty man was hanged while another, just as guilty, could get a reprieve through high legal talent, so infuriated the people that feeling rose to fever heat, and Mayor Foster, true to his word, resigned his office, and as a private citizen led the angry mob, forced the jail with no great labor, dragged the guilty Brown out and strung him up to a cross beam of a corral opposite the jail. Stephen Foster was re-elected Mayor within a short time, and the affair had a most quieting effect on the local criminal element.

Thomas Foster (no relation to Stephen) was chosen Mayor in May, 1855, and a good Mayor he made, too. Thomas Foster was one of the most highly cultured men of the city, and his home was the center of the real culture of the town; his wife, a highly educated Scotch woman, acting as a charming hostess.

On March 29, 1855, the first Lodge of Odd Fellows was organized in Los Angeles as I. O. O. F. No. 35, headed by General Ezra Drown. General Drown was a most able lawyer.

Mother Nature had her share in the shake-ups of the year started by Mayor Foster in January, and on the 11th of July, 1855, shortly after 8 o'clock in the evening, there occurred the hardest earthquake of record since that of 1812,

the "Anno de Temblores." Almost every building in Los Angeles was damaged. The earth visibly rose and fell in waves, and water was splashed out of the *zanjas*.¹⁰⁶

The famous Federal Land Commission wound up its work in Los Angeles during the year, and in December, the rather hectic year of 1855 ended with the establishment of the United States District Court for the Southern District of California, Honorable John M. Jones presiding, with Pablo de la Guerra as United States Marshal, and Alfred Wheeler, United States District Attorney.¹⁰⁷

THE YEAR 1856

A noticeable lull in crime came as a blessing to the tired people of Los Angeles during 1856, and with it, Prosperity. The sale of cattle this year reached the highest point yet obtained, amounting to over half a million dollars, and agriculture made great gains. William Wolfskill claimed that he averaged \$100 a tree from many of his orange trees, while the community produced over four hundred boxes, principally from the Wolfskill orchard.¹⁰⁸

Two new hotels that were to compete with the Bella Union were built in 1856. The Lafayette, later called the Cosmopolitan, on the site of the home of Eulogio de Célis, across the street from the Bella Union, was a two-story building; and the other, the United States, was a two-story brick, on the southeast corner of Main and Requena streets, where had stood the home of Don Juan N. Padilla, who had been a principal in the tragic event of the Bear Flag Revolt in 1846.¹⁰⁹

These two new hotels forced the old Bella Union to make needed improvements, and within the walls of the three pioneer hotels, much of the history of Los Angeles was made, for they held their respective places on through the sixties.

AN EARTHQUAKE, A WATER SYSTEM, AND AN EXPRESS COMPANY

The new year was brought in with a more terrible earthquake than that of 1855, when on the morning of January 9, 1857, at 8:30 o'clock a tremor shook the Los Angeles district for more than two minutes, causing tremendous damage. Trees were uprooted, houses were thrown down, and a series of small tidal waves occurred along the coast.¹¹⁰

Again in 1857, John G. Nichols served the city as Mayor, and the first real effort was made to establish an adequate water supply system, when a franchise was granted to Judge William G. Dryden. Water was raised from the *zanja* and stored in a brick reservoir, built in the center of the Plaza, and from that point distributed through pipes made of hollowed logs, along Main and Los Angeles streets.

Well Fargo & Company opened their long-promised express office in Los Angeles on April 11, 1857, giving the little city another connection with the outside world. One of the express company's first commissions was to bring

the first commercial ice into the town, the water trough only having supplied the little ice seen here, and that but sparingly, up to that time. Manuel Ravenna was the importer, and the perishable luxury cost him a net of 24 cents a pound before it reached him, which discouraged further ventures of this sort at that time. Later, however, ice was cut on the mountain lakes and brought to Los Angeles and stored for future consumption.

A GREAT MAN-HUNT

With the killing of Joaquin Murieta and other members of his band in 1853, the native Californian bandits had thereafter confined themselves to minor depredations. But the elements of bravado and ruthlessness were so strong in those of the Latin race that a recurrence of the early atrocities was bound to happen. This very thing did occur early in 1857, when terror was spread through the county by a band of more than fifty outlaws, led by two ex-convicts, Juan Flores and Pancho Daniel, who had recently escaped from San Quentin where they had been imprisoned for horse stealing. Juan Flores, a youth of good family, but a black sheep, had stolen some very fine horses belonging to the Hardy brothers of Los Angeles. Immediately upon their escape, these two, with other Californians whom they picked up on their way south, formed a band of bandits to prey upon the Americans of the south; and with the Hardys especially in mind, they made their way through Los Angeles and to San Juan Capistrano, where Flores had friends and confederates.¹¹¹

One of the Hardy boys had hauled a load of freight to San Juan Capistrano, and had put his team into a corral, when he noticed some Mexicans standing near looking at the horses, but did not recognize Flores, since he supposed that Flores was safely held in San Quentin. That night a Mexican woman told Hardy who the Mexicans were, and that Flores had vowed to avenge himself on Hardy and planned to waylay him on his return to Los Angeles. Hardy lost no time in starting back to the city by a circuitous route, and Don Juan Forster, who lived in the old Mission at Capistrano and had married a sister of Andrés and Pio Pico, dispatched a messenger to Los Angeles to apprise Sheriff Barton that the escaped convicts had banded together and were at Capistrano, as well as of their intended murder of Hardy.

The bandits proceeded to plunder several stores in Capistrano and murdered one man, an old German, George W. Pflugart, and then started out for Hardy.

With the receipt of all this startling news in the Pueblo, the excitement, that had been allowed to abate during the more quiet days of 1856, flared again to fever heat, and Sheriff James R. Barton, with a posse composed of William H. Little, Charles K. Baker, Charles F. Daley and Alfred Hardy, a brother of the threatened man, leaving Los Angeles on the evening of January 22, 1857, started out to run down the Flores band. On the way to Capistrano, near the present city of Orange, they came across a Frenchman by the

name of Frank Alexander, and took him with them, arriving at the ranch of José Sepúlveda below the present Santa Ana on the morning of January 23, where they were admonished not to attempt to capture the bandits without sending back to Los Angeles for more volunteers. Barton, however, one of the bravest men in the county, though reckless, insisted on immediate pursuit after they had finished their breakfast. They encountered the band a short distance from the rancho, near Santiago Canyon, and were almost immediately annihilated, with the exception of the Frenchman whom they had picked up, and Hardy, who, when he saw the rest of the party shot down, turned his horse and raced for Los Angeles with the whole band after him. His fleet horse enabled him to outdistance the robbers, who passed the Frenchman, Alexander, without attempting to molest him. The Sheriff's attack seemed to have had no effect on the bandits, though Hardy reported that he had seen each of the men fire point blank at the outlaws; and it has always been supposed that the balls had been drawn from their guns while they were breakfasting at the Sepúlveda ranch.

The frenzy of the people of Los Angeles was indescribable when news of this slaughter of their friends, and in Barton's case, their idol, reached them, and preparations for the greatest man hunt ever made in the State, were at once begun. The populace had been aroused and the hunt continued without abatement until the last man of Flores' band was run down and either hanged or punished. Fifty-two arrests were made and many of the outlaws were hanged almost immediately upon their capture.

Three companies were at once organized to run down the murderers. Andrés Pico headed the company that captured Flores in Santiago Canyon, while a company of El Monte boys did their part in another locality and a third party was raised at Fort Tejon to watch the northern passes out of the county.

The day after the company of men under Andrés Pico left the city to hunt down the bandits, another company, on horseback and with wagons, went to bring back the bodies of the victims. It was Sunday noon when the little cortège returned to the city, and at once the whole town went into mourning. The next day all business was suspended and the citizens attended the impressive funeral ceremonies en masse. Since there was no Protestant minister in the city at the time, the Masonic Lodge, of which Barton was an officer and one of the others of the posse a member, conducted the ceremonies, including in them also the two men who were not Masons but who had given their lives in the same cause.

The funeral was the largest that had ever been held in the little town, and the procession was the longest. Led by the Los Angeles Brass Band, the Masonic Fraternity came next in full regalia; then the four hearses, each carrying the body of a victim, the pall-bearers walking along the side of each; then ten carriages, followed by a large troop of horsemen riding two abreast. This impressive cortège wound its way up the rough road leading

to the cemetery on the hill back of the Plaza, where the bodies were interred in the Masonic plot. It was believed that this would become a shrine for the people of Los Angeles and that the burial place would be an object of interest for all time. But the cemetery has been destroyed and the bodies removed to Rosedale Cemetery, far from their original resting place.¹¹²

The man-hunt under Andrés Pico, who proved himself to be a wonderful and relentless tracker, kept on. Flores was captured, escaped, and was captured again and hanged. One by one the band was disposed of. Though Pancho Daniel, claimed by Flores to be the leader, evaded capture for more than a year, he finally was caught. Almost another year went by, however, before he was disposed of. A change of venue to Santa Barbara County then being granted him, the outraged citizens again took the law into their own hands, and the people of Los Angeles gazed with satisfaction at his lifeless body hanging at the gateway to the jail on the morning of November 30, 1858, before the change could be effected.

No episode in the history of Los Angeles has caused more excitement or called for more oft-repeated tales than this atrocious crime and the pursuit of its perpetrators. There are many versions of the man-hunt, but here we have no room to go into the interesting details. The best version, and perhaps the most authentic, is that told by Judge Pleasants, a pioneer of Santiago Canyon and an eye witness of Hardy's arrival in Los Angeles with the news of the ambush, in *Caminos Viejos*, published on the press of the Santa Ana High School. Judge Joseph E. Pleasants lived for nearly seventy-five years in Santiago Canyon, dying there but a short time ago, at the age of 94.

Too much praise cannot be given General Andrés Pico, a man who fought harder than any of his countrymen against the Americans during the conquest, but who, after the surrender of the Mexican forces to those of the Stars and Stripes, proved himself, time after time, as good a citizen of the United States as any man in the community.

OLD PAREDON BLANCO BECOMES BOYLE HEIGHTS

Through the influence of Don Mateo Keller, who had known him in Mexico, there settled in Los Angeles in 1858, one Andrew A. Boyle, who became one of the town's leading grape growers and exporters. Boyle had fought in the Texan Army against Mexico in 1836 and later had carried on business operations in Mexico, in association with Keller, who was living there at the time. Keller came to Los Angeles in 1850; and in 1851 Boyle went to San Francisco, where he engaged in the wholesale shoe business, remaining there until he was persuaded seven years later to come to Los Angeles.

Upon his arrival in the City of the Angels, he bought the vineyard along the river, under Paredon Blanco, planted by José Rubio in 1835, and on the bluff he built a two-story brick home.¹¹³ The house is still standing, with a third story added by one of Boyle's grandsons, who makes his home there.

Andrew Boyle's only daughter married William H. Workman, called "Uncle Billy Workman," who later was elected Mayor of Los Angeles.

From the beginning of Andrew Boyle's settlement of Paredon Blanco, the place became a center for American gatherings, and the old bluff assumed the name of "Boyle Heights" by which name it has since been known. The earliest settlers of Paredon Blanco, however, were the Lopez family, whose orchards had been there long before Los Angeles became an American city.

UNCLE SAM'S CAMELS

In 1856 and '57, through the efforts of Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California and Nevada, camels were introduced into the Southwest by the United States Government, as beasts of burden for use on the arid plains of Arizona and the Colorado Desert in California.

As early as November 10, 1857, two camels, from a train of these animals on their way from the Colorado River to Fort Tejon, were brought through the Cajon Pass into Los Angeles, making the journey from San Bernardino to the Pueblo in eight hours.¹¹⁴ Naturally these strange beasts, the first ever seen in the little city, caused much excitement and comment, and many accused Lieutenant Beale of using the government camels to build a road to Rancho Tejon, of which he was the owner at the time. It was further claimed, according to the Los Angeles correspondent of the *Daily Alta California* of San Francisco, that Beale intended to build the government wagon road, at that time being constructed, directly westward from the Colorado River to his place without coming into Los Angeles, and excluding all Southern California towns. Much sarcasm colored the article.¹¹⁵

The first caravan of camels arrived in Los Angeles on January 8, 1858, under the direction of Lieutenant Beale himself, carrying military stores and provisions from Fort Tejon to the Colorado settlements. This caravan was met by Mayor Nichols and a committee, and much to do was made over them. A lengthy article appeared in the *Los Angeles Star* at the time, giving minute details of the train and its equipment.¹¹⁶

The camels were used on through the Civil War, making regular trips to and from Fort Tejon and Los Angeles, and to the Drum Barracks at Wilmington. But the experiment proved a failure, largely through the lack of experienced drivers, the American mule skinner being unable to handle the camels and the imported drivers being too few to manage the herds. Eventually the camels were turned loose to shift for themselves. Some were later captured and either put into zoos or sold to circuses. One of these, "Old Topsy," died at the zoo in Griffith Park in Los Angeles in April, 1934, having almost reached the age of 100 years.¹¹⁷

A number of the drivers who were brought from the Orient with the camels settled in Los Angeles, most of them affiliating with the lawless element; and

at the home of one of these, Greek George, the bandit Vasquez was captured in 1874.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE OVERLAND STAGE

An event which caused even greater excitement and enthusiasm in the struggling little American city than the arrival of the camel caravan occurred on October 7, 1858. For up to that date, Los Angeles had been dependent on the steamer connection at San Pedro for all communication with the outside world.

The Butterfield Stage Line sent its first stage west, over the longest stage route in the world, in September, 1858, and that stage arrived at Los Angeles on October 7, just twenty days after leaving St. Louis. A great demonstration was held upon its arrival. Bonfires and the firing of cannons demonstrated the joy of the inhabitants in being at last directly connected with the East.¹¹⁸ This first stage reached San Francisco three days later, on October 10, and for three years thereafter an uninterrupted service was carried on, through Los Angeles, between St. Louis and San Francisco. At first there were two stages a week, and then a stage every other day left the stations at either end of the route. The Civil War, however, stopped the operation of the Butterfield Stage Line, due to the fact that the route lay through Confederate territory, unsympathetic to California.

And with this new epoch in transportation came a great boom in building. New enterprises were launched, and Los Angeles became known to the outside world. This year Abel Stearns built the first modern brick business block in the city at a cost of \$80,000—the Arcadia Block, at the southwest corner of Los Angeles and Arcadia streets, naming it for his wife, Arcadia Bandini. This building extended for a couple of hundred feet on Los Angeles Street and was adorned with an iron balcony around the upper story and was provided with iron shutters at the doors and windows, after the style of the gold mining towns along the Mother Lode. Stearns even went so far as to establish the first iron works in the city to provide these doors and balconies. This building saw much of the business activity of the city, and stood for more than seventy years, when it was torn down to make room for an auto park.

In December, 1858, as the year closed, death came to one of the pioneers of the Pueblo, Juan Domingo, who had arrived in 1827 as John Groningen, whom the *paisanos* had nicknamed "Juan Cojo" (Lame John), and who had cleared out the old Indian rancheria of Yang Na and planted his vineyard on the site before 1850. And in this vineyard, surrounded by his wife, Reymunda Feliz, and children, he died, respected by the Americans as well as the Californians whose habits he had adopted.

LOS ANGELES AS FRENCH AS NEW ORLEANS

The vineyard of Juan Domingo in time became part of the French Quarter of Los Angeles, which occupied the portion of the city from Los Angeles Street to the river, between Aliso and First streets; and in 1859 there were living

in Los Angeles more than six hundred French people, who comprised about one-fifth of the population.

France recognized the rising importance of the little city, and this year sent to Los Angeles her first official representative, Jacob A. Moerenhout, as Vice-Consul. Moerenhout had served the French Government as Consul at Monterey from 1845 until 1850, and from 1852 to 1859 as "Vice Consular Agent at Monterey with title of Honorary Consul of the Second Class." When he reached Los Angeles, October 29, 1859, he found a Frenchman, Damien Marchessault, Mayor of the city. On that day the French tricolor was raised over the Consulate, amid great applause, band playing and cannonading, the French population laughing and crying with joy. Moerenhout remained in Los Angeles the rest of his life, dying on July 11, 1879, a few days before Bastille Day, thus changing that day of festivities into one of mourning, for the French Colony.¹¹⁹

Among the prominent Frenchmen who helped build Los Angeles in the fifties were: Louis Vignes, José Mascarel, Jean Louis Sainsevain, Charles Ducommun, Edouard Naud, Victor Prudhomme, the brothers Victor and Prudence Beaudry, Joseph Mesmer, Damien Marchessault, Remi Nadeau, Jean B. Trudel, Jean Bernard, Antoine Laborie, and Domingo Bastanchury. These men took part in every walk of business, fraternal, and social life in the city.

THE OLD COURT HOUSE

The building boom continued into 1859, there being thirty-one brick buildings erected during the year. Among them was the old Court House, built by Temple, filling the little square bounded by Main and Spring, Court and Requena streets, where John Nichols' house had stood.

Don Juan Temple finished his famous Court House on September 30, 1859, at a cost of \$35,000, and leased the building to the city. It filled a long-felt need for a definite court room and market house.¹²⁰ This building was the pride and joy of old Don Juan Temple's heart. He had had his architect build it after the style of Faneuil Hall in his own native state; and in the tower was a town clock, the first that Los Angeles had known. But with all this spread of grandeur, an early day visitor, Salvatore, a Grand Duke of Austria, deemed it an eye-sore, describing it as "an ugly building, surmounted moreover by a noisy clock tower."¹²¹ The building, a two-story brick, had its upper floor divided, one-half to be used as a court room, and the other half fitted up as a theatre, or town hall, while the lower floor was used for a public market. On December 29, 1859, Mayor Marchessault auctioned off the various booths, or stalls. For years this old court house was a landmark to both the townspeople and the residents of the county who came to the city to trade or to transact legal business.

PIONEERS COME AND GO

Two important pioneers of the banking business arrived in Los Angeles in 1859; the Hellman brothers, Isaias W. and Herman W. Isaias went to

work in the mercantile establishment of his cousin, I. M. Hellman, who had arrived in 1854, while Herman found employment with Phineas Banning at Wilmington. Both of these men were to become powers in the financial world. Isaias W. Hellman was later one of the founders of the Farmers and Merchants National Bank, and was at one time the heaviest tax payer in Los Angeles County. In later years he made his residence in San Francisco, becoming a power there but retaining his interests in Los Angeles up to the time of his death.

Don Juan Bandini, immortalized by Dana in his *Two Years Before the Mast*, died at the home of his daughter, Doña Arcadia Stearns, in Los Angeles, on November 4, 1859, closing a most colorful career.

LOS ANGELES DIVIDES THE STATE

Since 1851 several unsuccessful efforts had been made by the political leaders of Southern California to divide the State, claiming always that the laws were all made in the north for the benefit of the north, and that there was no advantage to the south to remain a part of the State of California, a situation that was apparently true, for at no time was there an effort put forth to help the south in any way, and crime, much of it originating in the north, raged rampant through the southern counties without any attempt being made by the people of northern California to aid in curbing it. The State authorities were overwhelmingly northern men. Except for the privilege of paying taxes to the State Treasury, without benefit to themselves, Southern Californians had no voice in State affairs. By 1859 conditions became so intolerable that the south saw the opportunity to accomplish their long cherished hope, and by some the intent was held to add another slave State to the Union, since the preponderance of sentiment in Los Angeles County was in favor of slavery.¹²²

So in the year 1859, Andrés Pico, of Los Angeles, presented a bill in the Legislature proposing State division, and on April 18 that body voted to allow the five counties of Southern California—Los Angeles, San Diego, San Bernardino, Santa Barbara, and San Luis Obispo, with a part of the proposed county of Buena Vista, to form a separate government.¹²³ These six divisions were to be erected into a territory to be known as the Territory of Colorado. This bill was to be confirmed by a two-thirds vote of the people of the State. The election was held and more than a two-thirds majority vote was cast for State division. But the sanction of Congress was also necessary, and since up to that time no State had been divided there was a long delay in taking any definite action. The breaking out of the Civil War put an end to the subject for all time.

Following a very dry year, with excessively hot weather in October, the last month of 1859 witnessed devastating storms. On December 4, 1859, torrential rains set in and within one period of twenty-four hours, twelve inches

of water fell. The Los Angeles River overflowed and shifted its bed for a quarter of a mile. Many houses were badly damaged, and the front wall of the old Church of our Lady fell into the street.

And thus the elements in their wrath brought in the New Year, almost presaging the ominous forebodings that were to be heard before 1860 came to an end.

THE END OF THE THRIVING FIFTIES

On January 6, 1860, John Downey was inaugurated Governor of California, the first governor Los Angeles had given to the State. Naturally this made for better feeling in the south, and the people of the old Pueblo felt that at last they would have fairer treatment in matters of state.

On the 18th of January, a new newspaper came into the field, the *Semi-Weekly Southern News*, which continued on through the Civil War as the leading paper of the city. It became, in 1862, the *Los Angeles Semi-Weekly News*, and in January 1863, was changed to *Los Angeles Tri-Weekly News*.¹²⁴

Henry Mellus, one of the earliest American pioneers, was elected mayor on May 7, 1860; and the next day, to celebrate in true American fashion, the Mayor, and the Council, packed in a four-horse stage-coach with a brass band on top, paraded the streets of the City of the Angels, showing the populace for the first time "how a political victory should be celebrated." Henry Mellus was the first mayor elected in Los Angeles to die in office, for this useful man, who had helped so much in the development of the town, even while it belonged to Mexico, died on the 27th of December, 1860, just as the rumblings of war moved over our country.

Life in Los Angeles by this time had changed. Luxuries were now easily obtainable, and in the late fifties, Julius Froebel, the noted German, advocate of the kindergarten, visited Los Angeles. Conditions as he found them, contrasted strongly with the inconveniences of a few years before. He was a guest at the home of the brother of Henry Mellus, and in his narrative he says: "At Los Angeles, Mr. Francis Mellus, a wealthy and influential man and member of the Legislature of the State of California, offered me the hospitality of his house. I slept on a gilded bedstead with silk curtains and under a silk counterpane. The furniture of the splendid saloon I occupied consisted of Chinese works of art, with costly carvings; and for a time I was surrounded with all the luxury of civilized society."¹²⁵

THE END OF THE BULL ARENA IN LOS ANGELES

During the year 1860 occurred the last bull-fight to be staged in Los Angeles, the death of a little child at one of these encounters causing them to be done away with as a form of public entertainment.

THE FIRST TELEGRAPH LINE

The enthusiasm felt in Los Angeles upon the coming of a trans-continental stage line in 1858 was relived on October 8, 1860, when the first telegraph

connection with the outside world was made by the completion of a line to San Francisco. On that date the first telegram to come into Los Angeles was received from the northern city, and on the next day, October 9, Los Angeles sent her first message to San Francisco. This meant much to the people of the south, and the enthusiasm among the merchants and officials of the long isolated City of the Angels knew no bounds.¹²⁶

LOS ANGELES ATTENDS THE THEATRE

In 1860 a theatrical troupe came to Los Angeles and presented the first play ever given in the city, in that portion of the "Temple Court House" provided for just this great event earlier in the year. Needless to say the hall was crowded at each performance, when this first troupe, "The Great Star Company of Star and Ryer," put on its shows.¹²⁷

LOS ANGELES THE GIRLHOOD HOME OF INA COOLBRITH

The Second Federal Census showed Los Angeles to have a population of 4399 souls; among whom were several who were to become well known throughout California. Here at that time lived Ina Coolbrith, a girl who had come to Los Angeles with her family in 1854 when but ten years of age, and who attended the first public school of the town in its first year of activity, at Second and Spring streets. At the outbreak of the Civil War, after six years in Los Angeles her family moved to San Francisco, and she never returned to the south during her lifetime. One of her finest poems, however, was inspired by the memory of her girlhood days, when she wrote "Retrospect—In Los Angeles" fifteen years after leaving the Angel City, while she was Librarian of the Oakland Public Library.¹²⁸

A DON OF THE OLD DAYS DIES

One by one, the links between the Pastoral Days of the Dons and the Hurly Burly Days of the Gringo, were being broken, and the death of Don Antonio Maria Lugo in 1860 marked the passing of one of the most prominent of the early Californians. Don Antonio Maria had come to Los Angeles in 1809, was grantee of the Rancho San Antonio, just south of the Pueblo, and had served as alcalde of the Pueblo at different times, as well as *juez de campo* for some years in the Los Angeles district. He had a large family of stalwart sons and beautiful daughters. Among his sons, Vicente, Felipe, José del Carmen, and José Maria were the most prominent, while two of his daughters married influential Americans: Stephen C. Foster, several times Mayor of Los Angeles, and Isaac Williams, the owner of the famous Rancho Chino, where today stands the city of Chino in San Bernardino County. Antonio Maria Lugo was a great horseman, considered one of the best in all California, and was without doubt one of the most powerful men in California under both Spain and Mexico. His connection by marriage with so many of the prominent families was widespread. General Vallejo was his nephew. So in his passing, one of the strongest links between old California and the new was broken.

LOS ANGELES—STILL THE QUEEN OF THE COW COUNTIES

Through the fifties business thrived, and many new commercial enterprises were instituted, but agriculture was still paramount at the end of the decade.

From 1850 to 1860 the cattle trade and grape growing were the chief sources of money for the people of the Los Angeles district. The native Californian had enlarged his cattle holdings, and the newcomer either went into that trade or became a vineyardist or vintner.

Up to 1856, on an average, 15,000 head of cattle each year were shipped out of the county, bringing a price of \$15 a head, and in that year the value of cattle and sheep shipments exceeded a half million dollars, while as late as 1860 there remained in the county 78,000 head of cattle, three-fifths of which still belonged to the native Californian. These were distributed, using round figures, as follows:¹²⁹

Abel Stearns, 12,000; Juan Abila, 7,200; John Rowland, 5,000; William Workman, 5,000; Isaac Williams Estate, 5,000; John Temple, 4,000; Ricardo Vejar, 3,500; L. Cota, 2,500; Bernardo Yorba, 3,500; Ignacio Del Valle, 3,500; Teodosio Yorba, 3,500; Vicente Lugo, 2,500; Pio and Andrés Pico, 2,000; Agustin Machado, 2,000; Dominguez Estate, 2,000; Felipe Lugo, 1,000; Valdez Family, 1,000; E. Abila, 1,000; Fernando Sepúlveda, 1,000.

The growth of the grape industry kept pace with the cattle trade, for in 1856 Los Angeles yielded but 7,200 cases of wine, while four years later, in 1860, there were shipped from the county, 66,000 cases, to all parts of the country.¹³⁰

LOS ANGELES AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR

With the outbreak of the Civil War many of the old settlers of Los Angeles drifted east to join either the Union or Confederate army. The next few years were unhappy ones in the community; and due to the strong Southern element living here, the Civil War years were years of doubt, suspicion and intrigue, every man mistrusting every other man. So let us leave the story of Los Angeles, the second Pueblo to be founded in Alta California, with a picture of her gardens and orchards in our minds, visualizing her as she was, a great agricultural community.

And in leaving her, we can do no better than to let one who has written much of California's history paint the picture for us. John S. Hittell, the historian of San Francisco, visited Los Angeles in the late fifties, and of his visit he wrote:¹³¹

The general impression upon my mind, after spending the last week in September in the place, is that it is one of the most pleasant places in the world, known to me, to visit. . . . The song of Mignon came vividly before me as I walked through the gardens of the City of the Angels. Luscious fruits, of many species and unnumbered varieties, loaded the trees. Gentle breezes came through the bowers. The water rippled musically through the zanjás. Delicious odors came from all the most fragrant flowers of the temperate zone.

NOTES TO PART II

1. Joseph Warren Revere, *A Tour of Duty in California*, 1849, p. 25.
2. J. M. Guinn, "Old Fort Moore," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, 1903, p. 8.
3. John McHenry Hollingsworth, "Journal," *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, I, 247-48.
4. Cardinal Goodwin, *John Charles Fremont—An Explanation of His Career*, 1930, pp. 141-42.
5. J. M. Guinn, "Some Historical Fads and Fakes," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, 1903, pp. 155-57.
6. Hollingsworth, "Journal," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, I, 207.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
9. Stephen C. Foster was a charter member of the Historical Society of Southern California.
10. William A. Spalding, *History of Los Angeles City and County*, I, 119.
11. J. M. Guinn, "Los Angeles in the Adobe Age," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, 1897, p. 50.
12. J. M. Guinn, "The Plan of Old Los Angeles," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, 1895, p. 46.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
14. *Census for the City and County of Los Angeles, California, for the Year 1850*, p. 115.
15. H. M. T. Powell, *The Santa Fé Trail to California* (ed. by Douglas S. Watson), p. 208.
16. *Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County*, 1876, p. 41.
17. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 1930, p. 117.
18. Anna Begue Packman, *Leather Dollars*, 1932, p. 19.
19. Francisco Ocampo spent the greater part of his time, until poverty overtook him, at Rancho de los Coyotes near the present site of the town of La Habra.
20. Ygnacio Del Valle was the father of State Senator Reginaldo F. Del Valle and the grandfather of Lucretia Del Valle Grady, long the leading lady of the Mission Play at San Gabriel.
21. Marie T. Walsh, "This House is 125 Years Old," *Southern Calif. Business*, Feb., 1934. The Lugo house, while not 125 years old, is probably the oldest house still standing.
22. J. M. Guinn, "The Passing of the Rancho," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, 1915-16, p. 50.
23. The Sanchez house was known in the early fifties as Sanchez Hall and was later bought by Judge Andrew J. King for a home.
24. Francisco Sepúlveda was the father of José Andrés Sepúlveda and grandfather of the late Judge Ygnacio Sepúlveda (see Note 27), a leader of the Los Angeles Bar.
25. H. A. Reid, "Stockton's Capture of Los Angeles," *Land of Sunshine*, Vol. III, p. 220.
26. The home of Don Abel Stearns on the site of the present Baker Block, at Arcadia and Main streets, was always referred to as "El Palacio de Don Abel" on account of its fine furnishings and spacious dimensions.
27. *Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County, California*, 1876, p. 40. This pamphlet is generally referred to as "the Centennial History," and all references from now on will be to that title. It is one of the source books of Southern California history, and was published at the request of the President of the United States when he sent out a request to all the States in the Union to publish county histories for the Centennial year of 1876. That of Los Angeles County was written in three parts: the first by

Colonel J. J. Warner covering the period through the American Conquest; the second by Judge Benjamin Hayes, who carried the history through the Civil War; and the third period was covered by Dr. Joseph P. Widney, a pioneer physician, who took the history from 1867 to 1876. It was published by Louis Lewin & Co., No. 14, Spring St., Los Angeles. The history is a thin little pamphlet of 72 pages, printed on very poor paper, from very small type, but, on account of its mine of information, by such eminent authorities, it is a most useful book; and while the edition was large, the book has become quite scarce, due primarily to the fact that it was printed on poor paper which disintegrated rapidly. It is now a collectors' item of great value. The copy in my library has the added interest of having been presented and inscribed to Judge Delos Lake by Judge Ygnacio Sepulveda, both of whom have contributed so much to the history of California.

28. Major Horace Bell, *On the Old West Coast* (ed. by Lanier Bartlett), 1930, p. 136.
29. H. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 1930, pp. 82-83.
30. H. H. Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, p. 479.
31. H. D. Barrows, "J. Lancaster Brent," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, Vol. VI, p. 238.
32. *Historical Review Los Angeles Lodge No. 42, F. & A. M.*, 1929, p. 66.
33. The square roomy brick house built by Mateo Keller is now used as the office of the engineering force constructing the new Union Railroad Station on the site of Chinatown.
34. E. Palmer Conner, *The Romance of the Ranchos*, p. 4.
35. Major Horace Bell, *Reminiscences of a Ranger*, 1881, p. 39.
36. *Le Guide Français de Los Angeles*, 1932, p. 27.
37. H. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 1930, pp. 330-31.
38. The home of John G. Nichols was between Main and Spring, Court and Requena streets and was torn down in 1859 to make way for Juan Temple's Court House. On the same site the Bullard Block was later built, which was in turn demolished; and the two streets, Court and Requena, between Main and Spring, were obliterated when the present city hall was built.
39. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 48.
40. J. W. Guinn, *Los Angeles and Environs*, 1915, Vol. I, p. 271.
41. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 33.
42. Bancroft's "Pioneer Register," *Hist. of Calif.*, IV, 758-59.
43. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 44.
44. Laura Evartsen King, "The Stores of Los Angeles in 1850," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, Vol. V, p. 5.
45. J. M. Guinn, "La Estrella," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, Vol. V, p. 70.
46. Henry R. Wagner, *The First Issue of the Los Angeles Star—Los Angeles' First Newspaper*, 1932. (A folio brochure containing a reproduction of the first issue of *The Los Angeles Star*.)
47. J. M. Quinn, "Los Angeles in the Adobe Age," *Los Angeles Daily Times*, Jan. 1, 1898.
48. Major Horace Bell, *On the Old West Coast*, p. 148.
49. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 40.
50. H. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 1930, p. 91.
51. William A. Spalding, *History of Los Angeles City and County*, Vol. I, p. 124.
52. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 44.
53. John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, 1854, Vol. II, p. 81.
54. Henry Hancock became quite a power in the community, obtaining later the La Brea rancho, on which were located the celebrated tar pits described by Crespi in

1769. Henry Hancock was the father of Allan Hancock, the oil man and well-known explorer of today.

55. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 38.

56. The old bull-fight arena occupied the site of the present French Hospital at College and Castelar streets in old "Sonora Town." Castelar was then called Calle de Toros.

57. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 39.

58. H. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 1930, p. 160.

59. Major Ben C. Truman, *The Field of Honor*, 1884, pp. 107-8.

60. Major Horace Bell, *Reminiscences of a Ranger*, 1881, p. 76.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

62. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 42.

63. Major Horace Bell, *Reminiscences of a Ranger*, 1881, p. 18. The 1881 edition of Bell's *Reminiscences of a Ranger* was the first bound book published in Los Angeles. For up to the appearance of that most important work, Money's pamphlet alone represented the press of the town in book form. It must be understood that Major Bell's book is fact, told in the manner of one who must have his joke, taking at times license to exaggerate somewhat. But to the discerning historical student these exaggerations are easily detected, and it remains the best picture of Los Angeles in the fifties that has been given us. Major Bell touches all sides of life in the Pueblo. He lived for more than fifty years in Los Angeles and took a most active part in affairs during the whole of that time.

64. J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country*, 1868, p. 34.

65. Judge A. W. Hutton and Will D. Gould each occupied offices in the old Temple Block for more than fifty years.

66. Trans. of Case of City of Los Angeles vs. Cohn, 101, Cal. 373, tried before Judge Walter Van Dyke in the Superior Court of Los Angeles County, 1891.

67. Thompson & West's *History of Los Angeles County*, 1880, pp. 50-51.

68. Now the great Hearst Ranch at San Simeon.

69. John Bigelow, *Memoir of Life and Public Services of John Charles Fremont*, p. 145.

70. Bancroft's "Pioneer Register," *Hist. of Calif.*, IV, 776-79.

71. Michael J. Phillips, "Saloman Pico, Bandit," *Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 1925.

72. Marjorie Tisdale Walcott, *Pioneer Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes*, p. 198.

73. Major Horace Bell, *Reminiscences of a Ranger*, 1881, p. 58.

74. Michael J. Phillips, "Jack Powers, Romantic and Fearless Bandit," *Los Angeles Times*, May 24, 1925.

75. John R. Ridge, *History of Joaquin Murieta*, 1927, p. 27.

76. Bell, *Reminiscences of a Ranger*, p. 25.

77. H. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 1930, p. 35.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

79. Dr. Edgar was a charter member of the Historical Society of Southern California, and in his will left a bequest to the Society of \$5000.00.

80. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 63.

81. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, p. 81.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

83. George W. Hazard, "The Old Round House," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, Vol. V, p. 109.

84. George Lehman, or "Dutch George" as he was more familiarly known, was at

one time quite wealthy, but died a poor man on account of attempting to hold on to too much property. He lived at Sixth and Spring streets on the site of the present Hayward Hotel, and owned so much land around that point that for several blocks that part of the town was called "Georgetown" or "Germantown." It has been claimed that Lehman donated old Sixth Street Park, now Pershing Square, to Los Angeles, but Ex-Mayor George Hazard stated that such was not a fact but that Dutch George did donate the first trees planted in the square, and watered them himself with five-gallon cans of water carried from his home two blocks away. The square has always been city property.

85. *The Los Angeles Star*, October 2, 1858.

86. Mary M. Bowman, "A Lost Landmark," *Land of Sunshine*, Vol. VII, pp. 99-100.

87. Thompson & West's *History of Los Angeles County*, 1880, p. 120.

88. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 44.

89. Delilah L. Beasley, "The Negro Trail Blazers of California," p. 90.

90. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 44.

91. Rev. James Woods, *Recollections of Pioneer Work in California*, 1878, p. 197.

92. James L. Woods, *California Pioneer Decade of 1849*, 1922, p. 65.

93. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 48.

94. *Census of the City and County of Los Angeles in the Year 1850*, 1929, p. 30-31.

95. H. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 1930, p. 122.

96. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 47.

97. Arthur M. Ellis, *Historical Review, Los Angeles Lodge 42, F. & A. M.*, 1929. All references to the organization of the first Masonic Lodge in Los Angeles are from this "Review" published to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Lodge. The writer collaborated with Mr. Ellis and knows that every statement made in the book was carefully authenticated. Every reliable source of information was used.

98. Major William Downie, *Hunting for Gold*, 1893, p. 29.

99. Major Ben C. Truman, *Semi-Tropical California*, 1874, p. 97.

100. A letter written by I. Glosen from San Gabriel on April 26, 1861, to his old friend John Meek at Camptonville, is now in the possession of the Society of E Clampus Vitus at Los Angeles, having been presented to the Society by his son, still a resident of Camptonville. On September 15, 1934, the Honorable and Ancient Order of E Clampus Vitus unveiled a tablet on the spot of the first discovery of gold in the diggings, bearing the inscription: "This Monument, dedicated by E Clampus Vitus, Sept. 15, 1934, to the memory of the Forgotten Miner, marks the place of Discovery of Gold in the San Gabriel Canyon, 1854." The spot is owned today by Mr. Roger Dalton, the grandson of Don Enrique Dalton, who owned the spot at the time of discovery.

101. *A History of California Newspapers*, edited by Douglas C. McMurtrie, 1927, p. 268.

102. Julia N. McCorkle, "A History of Los Angeles Journalism," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, Vol. X, p. 26.

103. J. M. Guinn, "Some Eccentric Characters of Early Los Angeles," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, Vol. V, p. 273.

104. There are only three copies of this book now known: two in the Huntington Library and one in the Bancroft.

105. H. H. Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, Vol. I, p. 495.

106. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 1930, p. 165.

107. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 37.

108. Wm. Spalding, *History of Los Angeles City and County*, Vol. I, p. 134.

109. Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. V, p. 161.
110. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 1930, p. 204.
111. Bancroft, *Popular Tribunals*, Vol. I, p. 499-504.
112. Arthur M. Ellis, *Historical Review*, p. 75.
113. H. D. Barrow, "Andrew A. Boyle," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, Vol. V, p. 243.
114. Lewis Burt Lesley, *Uncle Sam's Camels*, 1929, p. 119.
115. *Daily Alta California*, November 29, 1857.
116. J. M. Guinn, "Camel Caravans of the American Desert," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, Vol. V, p. 148.
117. *Los Angeles Daily Times*, April 27, 1834. For other references to camels in California, see articles by A. A. Gray, Francis P. Farquhar, and William S. Lewis, in *California Historical Society Quarterly*, IX, 4, December, 1930.
118. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 1930, p. 234.
119. *Le Guide Français de Los Angeles*, 1932, pp. 37-38. See also "The French Consulate in California," in *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, Vols. XII and XIII, especially Vol. XII, pp. 157-59.
120. H. D. Barrows, "Recollections of the Old Court House and Its Builder, *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, 1894, p. 42.
121. Ludwig Louis Salvator, *Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies*, 1929, p. 126. This book, translated by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur from the German edition of 1878, published at Prag, *Eine Blume aus dem Goldenen Lande oder Los Angeles*, is one of the best descriptive books on Los Angeles. The original edition was illustrated with excellent drawings made by the author, a grand duke of Austria, and some of the plates were reproduced in the English translation.
122. Cleland, Robert G., *A History of California: The American Period*, p. 348.
123. *Statutes of Calif.*, 1859, Chap. CCLXXXVIII. See also *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, X, 74.
124. Julia M. McCorkle, "A History of Los Angeles Journalism," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, X, 26.
125. Julius Froebel, *Seven Years Travel*, 1859, p. 549.
126. H. D. Barrows, "Los Angeles in the Fifties and Early Sixties," *Annual Pub. H. S. S. C.*, 1893, p. 55.
127. Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 1930, p. 286.
128. The late Arthur M. Ellis, an authority on Los Angeles history, made it a point to call on Ina Coolbrith each time he visited San Francisco, to talk to her about Los Angeles before the Civil War, she having lived in the Pueblo from 1854 until 1860. Having never returned to Los Angeles after leaving it, her memory, unclouded by the many changes, was most vivid regarding the life as well as the appearance of the old town in the fifties.
129. *Centennial History*, 1876, p. 60.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
131. John S. Hittell, *The Resources of California*, 1863, p. 408.

THE FRENCH CONSULATE IN CALIFORNIA 1843-1856

THE MOERENHOUT DOCUMENTS

Edited by Abraham P. Nasatir

DOCUMENT XX¹

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Port of Yerba Buena
San Francisco Bay
February 15, 1849.

Monsieur le Ministre:

By my letter of the 20th January² last, I had the honor to inform you of my arrival at Yerba Buena and to give you some information as to the present state of this port and of its commerce. Since that time I have obtained exact data regarding the shipping at the port and the increase of its business, and I now have the honor to send you enclosed herewith a list of the ships that entered here during the latter half of 1848, their tonnage, the amount of customs duties levied, and the approximate amount of the sales made during the same period.³

In my last I also observed that with the exception of flour and some other bulky articles the prices of goods were holding up despite the frequent arrivals of vessels and the interruption of communication with the interior and with the gold region due to the severity of the winter and the bad weather. To these remarks I added that the drop in price of the articles first mentioned seemed to me caused by the lack of customs warehouses and the enormous charges made for unloading and storage. My short stay in this port has convinced me that this judgment as to the state of the market was well founded, for hardly had the weather improved a bit and favorable winds permitted the transportation of goods up the Sacramento, to New Helvetia and other interior points, than business immediately resumed its usual activity. Flour, which had dropped as low as ten dollars the sack of two hundred Spanish pounds, went up again to eighteen and twenty dollars, and there was an increase of ten to twenty per cent. on provisions, spirits and all articles of general consumption.

But, despite this stimulus that a period of extraordinarily good weather

has given to business here, and notwithstanding that hundreds of people immediately set out for the Placer, the storehouses of New Helvetia being still crowded with merchandise and provisions and the roads being still too bad to permit of transporting them to the gold regions, it is probable that the commerce of this port will languish again. The slightest change of weather, rain and south winds will stop navigation on the bay and the transporting of merchandise, and a good many articles will probably drop in price again, especially if the ships announced as having sailed from various countries should arrive soon, or before the season of good weather opens. Not only for the reasons already mentioned, the lack of storage space and the high cost of warehousing, but also because there are so few large speculators, I do not think that the business of this place will increase or take on a sustained activity until toward the end of April or the beginning of May. Then the ease of transport and the needs of ten to fifteen thousand whites and fifty thousand Indians will carry off in an instant all that is stored in the warehouses at New Helvetia and at Stockton,⁴ on the San Joaquin. Then the need of provisions and the more or less considerable enterprises of the thousands of people who will be going to the placers will immediately absorb nine-tenths of all the spirits, wines, provisions and almost all the merchandise in the country.

According to the reports that came to us in various ways, the emigration from all the neighboring territories to California will be even more extraordinary than the marvelous discoveries that are drawing all these people to this country. The entire populations of the northern provinces of Mexico seem ready to start. Six or seven thousand inhabitants of Oregon are expected to leave that territory about April and to arrive here in May, for the journey from the Willamette⁵ to the Sacramento is but twenty days. The settlement of the Mormons, five to six thousand persons, near the Great Salt Lake, will set out at about the same time and will cross the Sierra Nevada in June or July. It is impossible to say yet what will be the number of emigrants from the United States by way of the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, through New Mexico, etc., but there will not be less than 25,000 of them who will enter California in September and October.

All the vessels arriving here from the ports of the west coast of the Americas, from Lower California to Chili, from the islands of the South Seas (*les îles du Grand Océan*)—all are filled with passengers. As I had the honor to say in my preceding dispatches, fifty to sixty thousand immigrants will arrive in this country before the end of autumn or within six to eight months.

I therefore think, Monsieur le Ministre, that some shipments may safely be sent from France, the cargoes being made up according to the note that I had the honor to address to you, but considerably increasing the quantity of spirits and wines, as also that of provisions, arms, ready-made clothing, *objets de luxe* and furniture, but cutting down on the ordinary white and calico stuffs. The English and Americans will flood the country with these,

and in view of the limited number of women they will probably fall below the prices for which they would sell in other markets of these seas.

I have had the honor to mention before the difficulties that ships encounter here because of desertion, to which must be added the no less serious one of finding warehouses or other means of disposing of goods. The way to remedy both of these inconveniences more or less would be to allow the crews to go to the Placer for two or three months on their own account, under the supervision of an officer and furnishing them provisions, etc. In this way the ship might serve as a storehouse and there would be time to dispose of the cargo without being subjected to the ruinous charges for unloading, storage, etc., the ship's company could be held together and there would be sailors to take the ship to sea again.

The town of Yerba Buena continues to make great progress. Spacious and fine houses are constantly being erected here, and this despite the enormous price of twelve to fifteen thousand francs per thousand feet for lumber and the wages of forty to fifty francs per day that the carpenters charge.⁶ Even the land continuously increases in value. The best situated lots (25 varas by 50) sell for from six to fifteen thousand dollars. Nor is Yerba Buena the only place where buildings are going up, despite these enormous prices. At the Pueblo of San José, where materials and labor are higher still, several fine buildings are under construction, and in a new town⁷ situated between the Sacramento and New Helvetia, lots 80 feet by 150, that were selling two months ago for one or two hundred, now sell for one or two thousand dollars. But there, just as here and at the Pueblo of San José, there is a shortage of building materials, and it would be a likely speculation to bring in ready-made houses of wood or of iron if these could be manufactured at reasonable prices in France; that is to say, such as to compete with the English or the Americans.

This country is perfectly quiet despite the excesses of gambling and drinking. But the American inhabitants are discontented with the present government which leaves them practically without civil authorities, and they are going to have a general convention at the Pueblo of San José⁸ with the intention of founding courts and establishing a provisional government . . .⁹

As ships filled with passengers are constantly arriving from Mexico, from Chili, from Sandwich [Islands], etc., there is a housing shortage and rents have gone up to enormous prices. The simplest room will rent for from two to three hundred francs per month, but still none can be had, and two or three hundred people are living in tents.

Please accept, Monsieur le Ministre, the assurance of my great respect.

The Consul of the French Republic,

J. A. MOERENHOUT.

XXI¹

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Monterey, March 30, 1849.

Monsieur le Ministre:

By my letter of the 15th of February last,² from Yerba Buena, I had the honor to send you a list of the ships that put in at that port from the first of July to the 31st of December, 1848. Enclosed herewith, Your Excellency will find a list of the ships that visited the port of Monterey during the last half of the same year.³

From these documents, Your Excellency will be able to see the immense difference that there is now between these two places, both as ports and as commercial centers. Monterey, situated as it were outside the radius of the principal business activity, is now but a very secondary port. Business here is comparatively of such little importance that foreign merchant ships no longer put in here and goods are received only at second hand and at much higher prices than at Yerba Buena. But the discoveries of gold are daily extending southward and already gold is being taken from the soil washed by the Merced River and by the *Arroyo de las Mariposas* which have their source in the Sierra Nevada between the 36th and 37th degrees North. It is proposed to open a direct road from Monterey to these placers, by which even wagons will be able to go there in four to six days. This will greatly change the state and importance of this town, for it will then become, like the Pueblo of San José, a rendezvous for those who are going and coming from the placers and one of the principal places where they will obtain provisions, merchandise, etc. . . .⁴

At the time of my departure from Yerba Buena, the 12th of this month, the town was more than ever crowded with foreigners, who are daily arriving on vessels from all parts of the Pacific and are unable to find lodging. The steamship *California* arrived at Yerba Buena on the first of March with three to four hundred passengers, but, as she was unable to put back to sea immediately, for lack of coal, all the members of her crew deserted. Even the engineers abandoned their posts to go to the placers.

All vessels entering the port of Yerba Buena find themselves in the same situation. Captain Pignon Blanc, of the *Stanlili* [?] of Bordeaux, had just arrived from Valparaiso with passengers and freight, but it was impossible for him to go to sea again, for his crew remained aboard only on condition of being allowed to go for several months to the placers. As he had made an excellent voyage, this captain was thinking of selling his ship and going to the placers himself with some of the sailors.

All the reports from the gold regions confirm the fact that these deposits, even the ones that were exploited continuously during 1848, have not diminished at all in their richness. It also seems that these discoveries are

constantly extending both to the north and to the south. The immigrants coming from Oregon found gold from their first arrival in the Sacramento Valley, and according to all reports, it seems certain that the gold-bearing lands extend from the Oregon border, or 42° N., to San Francisco [San Francisquito] in $34^{\circ} 20'$ of the same (N.) latitude. In order to make more plain to you the nature and the extent of these gold regions and the location of the richest diggings, I will try to give a short description of the country where they are situated and which I have been over in part myself.

Upper California extends from 40 to 60 leagues inland from the sea, and is traversed over its whole length by three parallel mountain ranges. The most easterly is sometimes called by the Spanish name of *Sierra Nevada*, Mountain or Range of Snow, and sometimes by the English names of "Californian Range," or "Californian Mountains," and is from six to ten thousand feet high. The second, known as the Central Range, has an average elevation of from fifteen hundred to two thousand feet. The third in some localities rises directly from the seashore but is generally distant one to six leagues from it. It is known by the old inhabitants of the country under the names of different places, such as *Sierra de San Rafaél*, *San Bruno*, *Santa Cruz*, *Santa Lucía*, etc., and under the name of Coast Range, *Chaine du littoral*, by the Americans and other foreigners. This range also averages from 1,500 to 2,500 feet in height.

The first of these ranges is simply a continuation of the Cascade Range of Oregon, and in addition to its great elevation it is of very considerable width, and from its northern extremity to 34° cuts off all communication to the east. There, however, at the 34th degree it gradually slopes down and is broken here and there and continues thus in broken echelon formation to the southernmost extremity of California.

At 42° , or the northern border of Upper California, and also at $34^{\circ} 30'$, near the southern border of the same country, lesser chains branch off from this range to the west, toward the sea, and join or interlace with the central chain in such a way as to break all communication from north to south and to form a basin 160 leagues in extent from north to south and 25 to 40 leagues from east to west. This basin has no outlet but the Strait of Carquinez in San Francisco Bay. Through this strait the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers flow out, the one, after a course of 100 leagues from the north, the other after a course of from 40 to 50 leagues from the south; having received between them all the waters from the western side of the Sierra Nevada and from the eastern side of the Central Range.

It will perhaps not be irrelevant to mention here that a singular tradition exists among the Indians with regard to this basin. They contend that at a time removed only a few generations from the present the Tulare and Sacramento valleys were but one immense lake without any outlet whatever to the sea. During a severe upheaval of the land, they say, there opened in the

Central Range the passage known today as the Strait of Carquinez and in the Coast Range that which forms the entrance to San Francisco Bay and that then the waters, bursting through these two openings to the sea, left dry this immense plain that reaches from the northern to the southern extremities of the country.

It would be astonishing, no doubt, that such a happening should date from such a recent time as to have remained in the memory of such a people as the aborigines of Upper California. There are nevertheless some facts in support of this tradition that seem to indicate that these lands are new and that the vegetation or trees that they bear all originated at about the same time and are but a few centuries old. As I pointed out in the report of my visit to the placers, the largest oaks seem all of about the same age and full of health and vigor, and appear not yet to have reached the stage at which their extremities commence to wither or when the trunk of the tree itself dries out and falls into decay.

On the eastern side, all this immense plain or basin is bordered by a chain of hills which commences at its northern end at 42° and extends to its southern end, about $40^{\circ}30'$ [$34^{\circ}30'$]. These are the foothills of the Sierra Nevada, of an average elevation of from 100 to 600 feet over a width of from 2 to 5 leagues.

It would be hard to say whether these hills themselves were formerly under the waters of the lake or whether they formed its eastern shore, whether they sank and spread out from the main range by the effect of the mass of water when it burst out toward the sea, or whether they were formed and have always been where they now are. But there is one significant fact that would support the belief that they were formed under the water or were detached from the main range by the effect of the water. This is that they are not found beyond the lesser chains that form the northern and southern extremities of the great basin. Similarly, gold seems not to exist outside the borders of this sort of terrain. I must add also that it is the same in the east-west direction, for as soon as one passes this line of hills to the east and enters into the first slopes of an unbroken chain of larger and higher mountains, one no longer finds gold, neither in the ravines nor in the river beds, while below or to the west of this same line of hills the soil contains no gold either, and that carried by the rivers diminishes in quantity and size in proportion as the water courses flow away to the west across the plains. This diminution is so regular in all the water courses that flow down the Sierra Nevada across this chain of hills and into the Sacramento or San Joaquin that one might calculate from the size of the gold almost exactly to what distance it had been carried and how far it was from the original deposits or "dry diggings" as they are called by the Americans.

It therefore appears certain that the gold found in such great quantity in the little gulches between the hills does come from these same hills. It is

beyond doubt that these are and always have been the true repositories of the gold that is now being found there. It is equally probable that gold exists there in veins that will soon be the object of more profitable mining operations. Such, at least, seems to be indicated by the large rocks of five to twenty pounds—rocky masses mixed with quartz—that the miners are beginning to find in the very hillsides and that carry veins of gold, some of them more than an inch thick. Your Excellency will find herewith a piece of one of these rocks which weighed seven pounds but the vein of gold in which is smaller. As to the formation of these hills, the base seems to be quartz, which appears there in all forms, in masses or in veins, surrounded by beds of stone, of sand, of clay, etc.

It is therefore probable, Monsieur le Ministre, that these placers are not simply small transitory deposits of gold-bearing earth like those of Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere, but that they are the original repositories where the virgin gold appears in extraordinarily heavy veins and that some day they will, as I have said above, be the object of the most profitable mining. But entirely apart from this question, which may still seem doubtful, Your Excellency will be able to form some idea of the extent and importance of these placers from the descriptions that I have just given; for what is certain is that there is gold in all the gulches between the many hills from one end to the other of this basin, that is to say, over 160 leagues in length by 2 to 5 leagues in width. When one thinks that besides these principal repositories, the thousands of streams, all the watercourses and rivers that flow down from the Sierra Nevada and cross this gold-bearing zone, carry with them such quantities that hundreds and thousands of workmen could not exhaust them in centuries, one cannot but wonder what importance this country must soon acquire and what effects and what changes these discoveries will cause in these seas.

When I passed through the Pueblo of San José I found it deserted. Likewise at Monterey nearly all the men have left for the placers, and if there are a few left it is only because they have not the necessary horses either to transport themselves or their provisions. A horse today costs from \$150 to \$400, an ox from \$50 to \$100; and as few of those arriving here have the means to pay such prices, the theft of these animals is now so common that it is impossible to keep them without watching them night and day.

Everybody having gone to the placers, nothing is selling, and as vessels continue to arrive at San Francisco a drop in the prices of all merchandise is expected. What is more serious, the means of transportation to the placers are so small in proportion to the proximate requirements that the miners will soon be in danger of dire need, even for provisions. From 200 to 400 francs per hundred pounds is now being paid for transportation from the Sacramento and San Joaquin landings to the placers.

Pray accept, Monsieur le Ministre, the assurance of my respect and devotion.

The Consul of France,

J. A. MOERENHOUT.

XXII¹

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Monterey, April 25, 1849.

Monsieur le Ministre:

...²The gold regions are difficult of access from Monterey, for lack of roads, and this port, off the track of immigration, is forlorn, deserted and without business for the present. The solitude and quiet of this place are truly remarkable in the midst of the general commotion. The route followed by those who enter California from the south and want to go to the gold region is by way of San Fernando, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and the *plaine de Monterey ou de la Nation* [Salinas Valley]. Thus for more than a month two or three hundred people have been passing daily five or six hours from the port, but they are hastening to reach the gold country and few come here, as the detour would make them lose one or two days at least.

It is probable, however, that the extension of the placers toward the south and the great number of immigrants entering California by all routes will soon produce some changes for the better in the state of things at Monterey. For according to the latest reports gold is found in the Tuolumne, Merced and Mariposa rivers,³ which are situated nearly east of this port and but forty to fifty leagues away. Therefore despite the lack of a wagon road, which it is impossible to open now, it is probable that a large number of miners, finding no place to lodge in the more northerly settlements, will endeavor to come to Monterey, as they may do on horseback in four or five days even from the Stanislaus placers, as soon as the San Joaquin River is fordable, that is to say, by August or September. It is certain, furthermore, that when the inhabitants of the port and the environs who have gone to the placers return, in two or three months, they will give business a new start and put large values in circulation. . . .⁴

As I am still without instructions from Your Excellency, and as there is no business now in Monterey, I will in a few days go again to Yerba Buena, where a multitude of Frenchmen are arriving daily from all ports of the western part of the Americas. They, as well as the captains of French vessels, may have need of my counsel and protection. But with reference to this journey I must once more take the liberty of observing to Your Excellency that in this last mentioned port my expenses far exceed my salary. I trust, therefore, that the Government of the Republic will soon give consideration to my difficult position in this country.

Four American transports have arrived here and at Yerba Buena within the past few days with the Generals Smith and Riley⁵ and four companies of soldiers of the regular army of the United States. General Smith, military commander of the two territories, Oregon and Upper California, has taken up his residence at San Francisco. General Riley, Governor of Upper California, will, it seems, establish his headquarters at Monterey.

Most respectfully, etc.

The Consul of France,

J. A. MOERENHOUT.

XXIII¹

Monterey, May 15, 1849.

Monsieur le Ministre:²

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The emigration from all parts of the Americas to this place is still increasing day by day. Over ten thousand people from Sonora and Lower California, men, women and children, have passed within a few leagues of Monterey during the last two months, and more keep coming. Most of the emigrants from those countries who come by land travel on burros (*mulets*) and bring more or less of provisions with them, but many others make this long and wearisome journey on foot and are so poor and so destitute that they have to beg along the way for their food. Among those who come on the ships there are also many who arrive here without the slightest resources, having in many cases sold all they had to pay their passage. All of these people find themselves in great difficulty when they get here. When they arrive in the ports they are still far from the gold regions. As to go there they must either embark for the Sacramento or the San Joaquin or travel across wild and uninhabited country, they generally suffer much fatigue and deprivation before they reach the placers, and even there, unless they are extraordinarily successful, their work hardly suffices more than to keep them in food.

The difficulties of going from the ports to the placers are constantly increasing, for the animals and means of transportation are becoming so costly and so scarce that it will soon become impossible to obtain them. A crude wagon and two pair of oxen, that formerly could be had for fifty or sixty dollars, now cost from four to six hundred dollars. Despite the large number of burros recently brought in from all the northern provinces of Mexico, horses sell for from 150 to 300 dollars, and the carriage of goods into the interior is from twenty-five to fifty dollars for each twenty leagues. Thus it is that people arriving here without any knowledge of the country, or the least idea of the difficulties that they must encounter to reach the gold region, are obliged to sell all that they have brought, even their provisions, often at mean prices, in order to obtain what they need to undertake this difficult journey.

The difficulties of the overland journey to the gold regions, especially in the winter months and from the 1st of May to the 1st of September, or during the overflow of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and the enormous expenditures that these journeys now entail, are all in favor of the Bay of San Francisco and increase its importance. In all seasons, boats, schooners and other vessels of five to seven feet draft can go from all the ports of this bay to New Helvetia on the Sacramento and to Stockton, five leagues from the mouth of the San Joaquin, and can go much farther between the 15th of May and the 15th of August when the rivers are high. But here I must observe that the immigrants who take this way to the gold regions are also exposed to great difficulties and expenses. For there, at New Helvetia and at Stockton, it is impossible to secure horses, oxen or wagons at any price and the cost of transportation from there even to the nearest diggings is from fifty to sixty dollars per hundredweight. The price is so exorbitant that most of the travelers have to sell or abandon their baggage and frequently even their provisions and to go on to the placers on foot, taking only the strictest necessities or what they can carry on their backs. Even at the placers the result is uncertain, although generally those who are able and willing to work can make an ounce of gold a day at least and those who are fortunate enough to be able to go there with sufficient provisions for a stay of three to five months are certain to make for themselves a small fortune of one thousand to five thousand dollars.

I have gone into these details so that Your Excellency may, if you judge proper, bring them to the knowledge of such Frenchmen as may be tempted by the immense riches of these placers and may wish to come to this country. The best times to come are in March and April and after the 15th of August, that is to say, before and after the floods.

According to the latest news from San Francisco, the merchant ships are continuing to arrive in such numbers that a commercial crisis appears inevitable.³ Although the prices of some articles have held up, the quantity of merchandise imported is so far in excess of the needs of the population, that notwithstanding the resources of the country and the means and disposition to spend of those who live or come here, the country will be so flooded with goods that most articles will drop, and probably even below the cost prices of the countries from which they have been shipped. The fact is that the shipments from all parts of the globe exceed all estimates and all expectations. To this I will add what I have had the honor to point out in my earlier dispatches, that in this country there are no government stores or warehouses, that the private warehouses of the business men are insufficient, that the costs of unloading and storage are from 10 to 20 per cent. per month for bulky articles, that customs duties are high and payable in cash, that commissions are high and interest on money from two to five per cent. per month, and that if a cargo cannot be sold on board and is stored, it will be eaten up within three or four months by the enormous charges and expenses of all kinds.

There are now ninety ships at Yerba Buena, almost all without crews, for the desertion of sailors is general. Wages have gone up as high as two hundred dollars per month. According to the letters I have just received from Yerba Buena, the difficulties that the captains of the French ships are experiencing in this respect particularly require my presence in that port.

With greatest respect, etc.

The Consul of the French Republic at Monterey,
J. A. MOERENHOUT,

XXIV¹

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Yerba Buena, San Francisco Bay,
June 16, 1849.

Monsieur le Ministre:

In my dispatch of May 15, No. 23, I had the honor to inform you that I was again going to San Francisco, the only place where any French business men are established and where the French ships come. Detained, however, by the examination of the papers of M. Delessègues, deceased at Monterey the 10th of May last, as I had the honor to report to Your Excellency,² I did not arrive here until the 12th of this month.

I will not stop to describe again to you this strange place which has grown by at least a hundred and fifty houses in the last three months, where 3,000 people are still living in tents and where entire cargoes are lying exposed on the shore, in yards, enclosures, or even in the middle of the streets. What I do wish to speak of to Your Excellency is the present state of the market here and the probable results of all the shipments that will be sent to this country during the next six or eight months. In several of my letters I had the honor to call to Your Excellency's attention how small the population of this country still is, despite a constant emigration from almost all countries of the world. Counting even the sailors and those who have only come here to work a few months in the mines and then return to their homelands, the number of the inhabitants does not exceed forty thousand. To this number must be added thirty to fifty thousand Indians. This small population which, it is true, will double before the end of the year, has had great needs and has occasioned a volume of sales that has been the more extraordinary since the people have had large values at their disposal and have been able to obtain all their necessities and in many cases luxuries regardless of cost, for as I believe I have also pointed out to Your Excellency, both nationalities, American and Mexican, seem equally prodigal in this country, and disposed to spend extravagantly. So long as the gold of the placers lasts these dispositions will not change, and the needs of those now here and of those who continue to come will increase daily as they build dwellings and settle down.

It is certain that each family, each person even, that makes any sort of an establishment here, will generally spend several thousand dollars in a few days, for, destitute of belongings, they must buy everything, and as I have said above, procure all that they need whatever it may cost.

These extraordinary needs and the ease of satisfying them held prices up for a long time, despite the numerous arrivals of vessels and the great quantity of merchandise imported. But the number of ships kept increasing every day, cargo after cargo was piled up, and hundreds of other vessels being announced to arrive from all parts of the world, it was impossible for prices to hold up, particularly now that two-thirds of the population is at the placers and the amount of cash, gold dust and bullion here has diminished considerably.

The other causes for the general drop in all commodities are those that I have mentioned in my earlier dispatches, that is to say, the lack of government bonded warehouses or stores where goods might be deposited, the enormous duties that must be paid in cash, the charges of private storehouses, that eat up the value of a cargo in a few months. There must also be added the fear of fire which has in a way held up speculations, for all the new buildings are of wood and very close together in a place where there are seven to eight months of dry weather and the constant menace of a furious north-west wind, and frightful destruction of property is momentarily expected.

In this state of affairs and with the alarming news that from two to three hundred merchant vessels are en route for this country from the United States it is to be desired that no shipments be sent here for a long time. The fall in prices will be so general that there will be danger even for those who come here with the best assorted cargoes. To avoid the great and almost certain losses to business men who might be sending consignments here or whose ships may already be on the way, I am going to write to the consulates general in Peru and Chili and to the Admiral, Commander in Chief of the naval station in these seas, for the purpose of preventing shipments from those countries and to warn the captains to dispose of their cargoes in the [way] ports where they put in.

The only articles still in favor are: lumber, which continues to sell at from 250 to 300 dollars per thousand feet; arms, plain and fancy pistols may be sold to advantage; but these are the only articles that offer any assurance of profit. Despite the large consumption of our brandies and our wines which, like other articles of general use and of prime necessity, will perhaps run short within six months, the present lack of storage space and the enormous charges discourage all purchases on speculation and have caused these articles to fall to prices that would yield no profit even if they were brought directly from France.

Another cause of the languor that has become noticeable in the business of this country for the first time since the discovery of the placers is found

in the land speculations that are now being carried to an extreme approaching madness. Land values all over the country have increased a thousand per cent. At Yerba Buena lots somewhat near to the shore or toward the center of the town bring from four to ten dollars the square foot. At Benicia on Carquinez Strait lots sell for three thousand dollars, and it is the same with all the new settlements that are now being formed on the Sacramento and the San Joaquin under the names of Sacramento City, Sutterville,³ New York⁴ and Stockton. Farms that sold for two to five thousand dollars some twelve or twenty months ago, are now worth from thirty to a hundred thousand, and nothing gives a better idea of the values already in circulation and in the hands of individuals of all classes than these speculations and the enormous sums that are paid every day for land in all parts of the country . . .⁵

With the greatest respect, etc.

The Consul of the French Republic at Monterey,

J. A. MOERENHOUT.

XXV¹

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Yerba Buena, San Francisco Bay

June 30th, 1849.

Monsieur le Ministre:

. . .²In my last dispatch I reported the commercial crisis threatening this country, and indicated the causes that are bringing it about². . . All these causes do exist, and will contribute to depress the prices of imported goods and to occasion ruinous results to those arriving here with cargoes before next December or January. Since my arrival here I have carefully studied conditions in this port which is the principal and almost the only commercial center of the country, from which come all supplies for the placers, for the settlements within sixty leagues roundabout, and even for the whole country, as this port alone receives the vessels that have come directly from the United States or from foreign countries. Having, as I say, carefully examined conditions here, I am convinced that the principal and almost the sole cause of the drop in prices of merchandise and of the commercial crisis threatening this country, is the lack of government bonded warehouses, to which must be added the other causes that are really consequences of this one, such as the immediate outlay of duties and the enormous cost of storage in private warehouses.

Undoubtedly the consignments of merchandise and the many shipments that are being made to this country from all parts of the world are excessive. In fact there is no longer the least proportion between these truly prodigious shipments and the needs of this country, but nevertheless its needs are such that it is difficult to appreciate their full extent and they make one suspect that if it were not that the causes mentioned hinder and paralyze speculative

sales, dampen the spirit of enterprise and frighten the rich business men, perhaps the prices of most articles would hold up sufficiently not to cause loss, while many others would find a ready market and would afford some profit to those who might bring them directly from the countries where they are produced. Among these articles would be our wines and spirits, which are consumed in considerable quantities and the demand for which will continue to increase in this country where large values are in the hands of all classes, one of whose principal diversions is to indulge in excessive drinking, even at meetings and festivals. Next comes luxury, the demand for which is being felt the more since the inhabitants of the country and the foreigners as well had been living poorly and within a very short time and without the least trouble became the possessors of immense riches, some by the values that their lands had acquired, others by speculations that yielded them enormous profits. Thus families that did not possess a thousand dollars in 1847, now enjoy fortunes of a hundred to three or four hundred thousand dollars. So also there is no such thing as a poor man in this country; for the lowest type of laborer can earn from five to eight dollars a day, an artisan from ten to twenty dollars, and even servants earn from seventy-five to two hundred dollars a month. In such a country, having no public amusements, man is prodigal and spendthrift. He generally loves ostentation and affects extravagant luxury—luxury that will be carried the further in that each seeks to out-shine the other, and has gold enough to satisfy even his whims and fancies.

It is probable, therefore, Monsieur le Ministre, that articles of fashion and all our *objets de luxe* will continue to sell well, and these articles will certainly be among those in considerable demand and the prices of which will hold up. Accordingly I hope that the French vessels that come here with well-assorted cargoes of good articles only, may make voyages which, if not very profitable, at least will not be so bad as those from other countries. Brandy still holds up—the last sold brought twelve and thirteen dollars per case on public sale. Our wines, though not in great demand, are being consumed and are beginning to run short. Our articles of fashion, silks, gauze, tulle, our muslins and other fine stuffs are dear and very scarce. It is the same with furniture and all *objets de luxe* for house decoration. None of these things is yet either oversupplied or unsalable. On the contrary, most of them are in demand and sought after, and sell for high prices.

The emigration continues from all parts of the world and all the ships, from whatever country they may come, are filled with passengers. Some of those who are coming overland from the United States have already entered the country by the southern route, and thirty to forty thousand who are on the way will arrive before the end of September. There is not the slightest doubt that this country will have a population of from 130,000 to 150,000 souls at least, before the end of 1849.³ It is becoming a truly serious question to know where this multitude will find lodging, for the houses that are being

built are not at all in proportion to the number of people already in the country and of the immigrants who are constantly arriving. Then, too, lumber, bricks, and all building materials sell for the most enormous prices and will for a long time be the articles that will yield the greatest profits. The same may be said of ready-made houses either of wood or of iron, and it is desirable that some of these should be brought by the ships coming from France.

Regular travel to the placers began late this year. The heavy falls of rain and snow during the winter prevented or hindered the work of washing the gold-bearing soil. In some places these soils were so wet that holes dug in them immediately filled with water. These difficulties discouraged many foreigners, especially those who had expected to find gold in lumps and to pick it up without trouble or work. However, the news received for the past few weeks has been much more encouraging. The waters of the rivers have already lowered considerably and the work of washing has been resumed everywhere, and again gives promise of an extraordinary production of gold. The new placers near the sources of the Tuolumne and Merced rivers are extremely rich and if the reports are to be believed, the average daily yield per man there is from one to four ounces. Very rich deposits are found in these rivers themselves as the waters lower. More than 12,000 people are working there and it is probable that most of the new arrivals will try to go there, as the place now most renowned for rich production.

Better news also comes from the placers more to the north, from the Stanislaus to the Feather River, fifty to sixty leagues away. Since the rivers have begun to lower and the washing operations have become easier everywhere, it is no exaggeration to place the amount of gold extracted each day at 25,000 to 30,000 ounces.

With such elements of wealth, with a new population that lacks everything, that must receive from abroad all it needs to maintain, lodge and establish itself, it is difficult to predict what fluctuations may occur in the prices of food and of merchandise. Nor can one tell when, despite the appearance of oversupply and abundance of merchandise, a shortage may develop, and prices rise from the depths to the heights.

In several of my dispatches I have mentioned the desertion of crews and the difficulties that shipmasters encounter in the ports of Upper California. Instead of diminishing, these difficulties are constantly increasing, and the captains' position is becoming truly critical and troublesome. Hardly has a ship dropped anchor in San Francisco Bay than the sailors, excited by the spirit of the country and the bad example of their predecessors, are in a state of open mutiny. They will obey no orders, and force the captain to allow them a pay of five or six dollars per day if he would not have them leave the ship. This situation is the worse in that there is here no authority, no police, no military force to assist or uphold the captains, and in that it is impossible to get another crew together without paying wages of from

\$100 to \$200 per month. I would accordingly again advise the masters of French ships, if they must come here, to try to make arrangements with their crews so as to permit them to go to the placers under the supervision of an officer after the ship has been unloaded, and to come aboard again after two or three months. This would make it possible, if necessary, to keep the cargo on board and to discharge it only as sold, and would afford some assurance of being able to make the return voyage.

These difficulties that shipmasters experience, and from which the shippers suffer so severely, have just occasioned a deplorable incident on the *Rolland*. There also several men of the crew mutinied and attempted to leave the ship, even before the cargo had been set on shore. They went so far in the way of assault that Captain Bajoux, provoked by the most culpable acts of insubordination and violence, found it necessary to use a firearm in self defense, and killed one Behan. I have the honor to send you herewith a copy of the master's protest and the other papers that were sent to Monterey. By the time I reached here all the crew had left the ship and it was impossible for me to conduct an inquest.

I cannot end this letter without again putting before you my situation in this country, where my expenses far exceed my salary from the Government. At the present time, simply for a little room and for board, without a servant, I must spend \$250 a month, and if I establish my residence in this port, where I am absolutely necessary to avoid great difficulties for shipmasters and to protect the Frenchmen living here, my expenses, even to live in a modest and retired manner, will come at least to \$4,500 or \$5,000.

Most respectfully, etc.,

The Consul of the French Republic at Monterey,

J. A. MOERENHOUT.

XXVI¹

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Monterey, September 1, 1849.

Monsieur le Ministre:

The last dispatch that I had the honor to send you from the Port of Yerba Buena, San Francisco Bay, was dated June 30, 1849. Since then I have visited the new settlements, Sacramento City and Sutterville on the Sacramento River and the port of Stockton on the San Joaquin. After crossing the latter river, and finding myself near the placers of the Stanislaus, the Mokelumne, the Calaveras, the Cosumnes, and Dry Creek,² I thought it advisable to visit them, so that I might tell you how important these new discoveries are and what influence they may have on the commerce and progress of this country.

Sacramento City³ and its port are at the same spot where the New Hel-

vetia landing used to be, that is to say, in the angle between the Sacramento River and its tributary, the American River.

The location of the new settlement was very well chosen, for that is as far up the river as vessels of seven or eight feet draft can go the year round. There also the river banks are sheer, high and level with the plain, so that they form natural quays where vessels of all sizes may moor and discharge their cargoes over plank gangways. The thirty-eight ships [then at Sacramento] were anchored or moored so close to shore that their masts and yards were hidden among the branches of the magnificent trees that line the banks of the river there.

During this last visit I also found that a mistaken view had prevailed as to the depth of the river. On the first of August a ship that drew ten to eleven feet of water entered the port under full sail, and as I have said, some much larger ships were still lying afloat along the river banks, the full length of the town. The water was still lowering, however, and from the middle of August to the middle of December ships of more than eight feet draft probably will not be able to tack in the river so as to go up as far as Sacramento City.

The growth and importance that this new settlement has exhibited are among the marvelous things that are happening in this country. Last year I was at this same place at the same season and there was not a house or even a tent there. Only a few little schooners lay in the port and the only business of any importance was a trade of barter carried on at the fort of New Helvetia. Now there is a town of 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants there, with a quay lined with fine buildings, with streets laid out and with a large volume of business that increases as communication with the placers and the interior becomes more regular and easy, and where, as I have said, thirty-eight ships were at anchor, the smallest of which was of fifty to sixty tons.

Sutterville⁴ is situated a league to the south-southwest from Sacramento City, and enjoys the same advantages as the latter so far as concerns the depth of water and the natural quays where ships of all sizes may moor and discharge their cargoes over wooden gangways. But it is surrounded by a swamp that prevents communication with the interior during a part of the year and has not been so successful as its rival. When I passed through on August 2, it had only a score of buildings, forty to fifty tents and 400 to 500 inhabitants. Only six vessels, of from fifty to two hundred tons, were anchored in the port.

The only inconveniences of these settlements (but they are serious ones) are the lack of practicable roads to the interior during the winter, exposure to heavy floods during the high water that prevails in May, June and July, and an unhealthful condition from July to October. But these disadvantages will be largely done away with in time, and seem not to hinder the progress of the towns. Their growth is in fact so extraordinary that the two settlements will soon join so as to form a single large city the limits of which

will be: the American River on the north and the end of Sutterville on the south, a distance from north to south of five to six miles, and from the Sacramento River on the west to New Helvetia on the east, a distance of three to four miles from west to east.

Sutter's Fort or New Helvetia has lost all its importance since the founding of the settlements on the Sacramento River. In the fort itself there are still a hotel and a few stores, but its business is languishing and there is no longer any such stir and activity as prevailed there at the time of my visit in 1848.⁵

The town of Stockton⁶ is situated on the San Joaquin River about eight leagues in a straight line from its mouth and eleven to twelve leagues sailing from there, following the windings of the river. The area destined for the formation of this town is divided by three deep creeks, 600 to 800 meters apart and running back from the river into the midst of the houses. The middle creek has a channel of easy entrance, is the only one used by the ships, and forms what is now called the Port of Stockton. This creek, as well as the river up to this point, has twelve to fourteen feet of water from the first of May to the middle of July, six to seven feet from the middle of August to the middle of December and seven to nine feet from the first of January to the middle of April. The San Joaquin, you see, has no tributary streams on the west and therefore is not affected by the winter rains, but as it receives from the east the waters of the [snow fed] rivers, Merced, Tuolumne, Stanislaus and several other streams that have their sources in the Sierra Nevada, it rises in an extraordinary way from May to the end of June.

Another thing that especially aids navigation on this river is the fact that it is under the influence of the San Francisco Bay tides, which force its waters back even beyond the Port of Stockton and cause it to rise regularly at least two or three feet.

The place where this settlement was started is in a low, bare plain, about three miles from the river, from which it is separated by swamps, sloughs and fields of reeds [tules]. This location is thus in no way comparable to that of Sacramento City in point of beauty or of safety, and will require difficult and costly work to guard against floods. Its situation is favorable however, at the head of navigation and near the placers of the Stanislaus, Tuolumne, Mariposa, Merced, etc.; and despite its low and dangerous location, crowds of immigrants are moving in, and at the first of August its population was already from 1800 to 2000.

Several Frenchmen are established at Sacramento City, at Sutterville and Stockton. Some are engaged in trade, but most of them are keeping cafés, hotels and restaurants. At Stockton itself, the firm of Sainsilvain & Roussillon⁷ has founded a fine establishment and is doing a large business. Among the articles most in demand in all these places, there have been mentioned to me particularly our wines, our brandies, our preserved fish and vegetables, shoes, shirts and clothing.

It is twenty-eight to thirty leagues from Stockton to the Stanislaus Placer. In going there one crosses a sandy plain that extends fifteen or sixteen leagues into the interior from French Camp, two hours out of Stockton. The banks of the Stanislaus are themselves but layers of sand. Eighteen to twenty leagues from the San Joaquin, however, the character of the country changes suddenly. There the hills are composed of strata of clay, quartz, etc., and there also the gold-bearing soils begin, but the rich diggings are first reached ten or twelve leagues beyond, in the gulches between the higher hills. Here, as elsewhere along the same line, these form the foothills of the Sierra Nevada and are so much alike that when I visited the Stanislaus placers I might have thought myself at the "Dry Diggins" or at the other northern mines that I described in my report of August 17, 1848.

The Stanislaus placer mines extend for several leagues from north to south. The most important for size and richness are those called *del Barro* or Sullivan's (*Silvain's*) Diggings.⁸ This is a large, deep valley, about five or six miles in extent. It is estimated that over \$3,000,000 worth of gold has been taken out of this place in the past eight months. Hundreds of miners are still working there and they nearly all averred that the average daily yield per man was still an ounce and a half. But these valleys have a very deep layer of surface dirt and stones, so one must dig to a considerable depth to reach the gold, and as the holes filled with water, work could not be taken up again until July. Even now pumps must be used in some places to keep the water down. It is estimated that ten thousand men are working in the various placers designated as the Stanislaus mines, and that their daily yield is at least 5,000 ounces.

There are two sizeable settlements at the Stanislaus. One of them, called Jamestown,⁹ is almost entirely owned and inhabited by Americans. The second, called *Campo de los Sonoreños*, Sonoranian Camp,¹⁰ is composed of all nationalities. In the former possession of the land has been taken, and an alcalde elected by the residents themselves gives title. In both of these settlements streets have been laid out and the right of the first occupants of lots is recognized, that is to say, that they may have the exclusive use of them and rent or sell them if they have erected tents or *enramadas* or made any improvements whatever. The former [Jamestown] has from a thousand to twelve hundred inhabitants. The second [Sonoranian Camp] is smaller, but has a floating population of from 2,000 to 3,000 people at least. In both of these settlements there are well stocked stores, restaurants, cafés, billiard halls, etc., and in the evening when these fine tents are lighted and thousands of people are circulating through the streets of these strange towns, it is hard for one to believe that he is in a wild and uncivilized country, surrounded by Indian tribes and at the foot of the Sierra Nevada wilderness.

At the time of my visit, toward the end of July, the heat was excessive, the ravages of disease had commenced and many were leaving the placers.

Nevertheless the number of miners was still large, business was active and necessities such as meat, flour, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, wines and spirits were much in demand. French wines were extremely scarce and sold at three to four dollars a bottle.

There are many Frenchmen working in the mines there¹¹ and some who have stores with stocks of goods of considerable value, and they asked me to appoint someone to protect their persons and their property. I felt that I should grant their request and appointed as consular agent, M. Chevalier, a surgeon, whom everyone pointed out as the person most capable and best fitted to look after their interests. I had him recognized in this capacity by the alcalde,¹² the only American authority in the region.

From Stanislaus I went to the placers of French Camp Creek (*Arroyo de los Franceses*), of the Mokelumne, the Cosumnes and Dry Creek. They are equally rich and really only a continuation of the gold country, but they take their names from the nearest rivers. In these placers, however, the miners are more scattered, and there are nowhere such settlements as those that have been established at the Stanislaus.

Everywhere in all these placers washing and digging are carried on actively but, as was the case last year, without any method or order. As every man is acting for himself, it has been impossible to organize any regular work. It is because of this individual work and ownership that these mining operations are a veritable lottery in which chance brings fortunes to some in a few months or sometimes in a few days, while others hardly earn enough to buy their food. This irregular manner of working the mines and the resultant great differences in the product of work explain the extraordinary movement of shifting that keeps a fifth of the miners always on the road from one placer to another, so that by their very inconstancy they lose precious time, increase their expenses and end by abandoning everything and returning discouraged and destitute.¹³

During this second visit I have renewed my conviction that the hills which form the gulches and valleys are the true repositories of gold, where sooner or later will be found the mines from which comes the gold that is now found nearby. For I have noticed that wherever the gulches are deep and the hillsides sheer or steep, and where consequently the water runs in rapid torrents at times of rain or melting snow, the gold is found in large pieces, mixed with or attached to pieces of rock, of which I have seen some that weighed twenty pounds and contained six or seven pounds of gold. Whereas, in the gulches between the rounded, gently sloping hills, the gold is fine and frequently in flakes as in the streams and rivers. I have even noticed that wherever the hillsides are broken toward the bottom by shelves or plateaus, the coarsest gold is always found in the dips of these plateaus and in much greater abundance than in the actual gulches of the hills. In some parts of the Stanislaus placers these hillsides have been the object of

new and very profitable mining, and if they continue to produce as well as they do now, they will add much to the washings in all the placers.

It is impossible here to give any exact idea of the number of the miners and the amount of gold produced, but although the average production per man has decreased because of the great number working, the total is very large. For a long time yet it will be a source of immense wealth that will stimulate trade, attract immigration, encourage and aid the enterprising spirit of the American people, and thus in a few years will change this once desert country into one of the richest and most flourishing states of the Union.

When I reached the Calaveras I was told that an American lady had just brought in a Frenchman who had died a few hours before, and I was asked to look into the matter. I went to the place where the carriage was, by which he had been brought in, and the lady told me that he had been sick in her house for five days, and that as she had to move, she had taken him in the carriage, but he had died on the way. She had not permitted anyone to search him until some witnesses should be present. The name that he had given in dying was Siniac.

I had the man's body taken out of the carriage, and although it was still warm, a surgeon whom I had called pronounced him dead. In the pockets of his trousers were found three keys and a small purse containing gold that I had weighed ($27\frac{1}{8}$ ounces). The body being still warm, I thought it prudent not to bury it yet and had it kept through the night. The next day I had it buried on the slope of the hill near the river and drew up a report in English that the American surgeon and another of his compatriots signed. The lady called my attention to a person who had taken care of the sick man for five days. To this person I gave an ounce of gold and half an ounce to those who had watched over the body during the night and had dug the grave.

According to reports that I have just received, Siniac was his true name. He was carpenter on the French three-master *Le Chateau Briant*, and left one or two trunks in San Francisco. As soon as I have the necessary information I shall have the honor of sending you a copy of the report, the 27 ounces of gold and the proceeds of all that belonged to this sailor.

With the greatest respect and devotion, etc.,

The Consul of the French Republic at Monterey,

J. A. MOERENHOUT.

XXVII¹

MOERENHOUT TO MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Yerba Buena, San Francisco Bay,
October 28th, 1849.

Monsieur le Ministre:

I have been in this port since the 2d of this month and have tried in vain to obtain a list of the ships that have put in here since the first of January,

1849. There is no exact list anywhere, neither in the harbor master's office nor even at the Custom House where the names of the ships are inscribed in scattered books that are constantly in use. I shall, nevertheless, continue to work on it and will try to send it to you by the steamer sailing on the 15th of next November.

I am quite disappointed not to be able to send you this list, for it would give you a better idea of the present importance of this port where more than 200 large ships are still at anchor,² where the duties paid at the Custom House exceed the figure of \$100,000 per month, and the activity of which resembles and exceeds that of the principal ports of the States or of Europe. As to the town itself, its progress is unexampled in the history of new settlements, even in the United States. Entire streets are lined with fine houses in the space of a few days. It already has eighteen to twenty thousand inhabitants, and there is not the slightest doubt that before the first of next January its population will be thirty to forty thousand souls, at least.³

Sacramento City, which I had the honor to describe to you in my preceding dispatch, continues to grow in an equally extraordinary manner. There are not enough ships to carry the lumber necessary for the buildings that they wish to construct there. Furthermore, it is the stopping place for the emigrants who come overland from the United States to California and most of them want to locate and make their homes there. It already has from eight to ten thousand inhabitants and its growth will be greater and faster now that steamers of shallow draft have established prompt and regular communication between that port and Yerba Buena.

Stockton also continues to grow as do eight or ten other towns that have been founded under various names in the environs of San Francisco Bay and in the Sacramento Valley. The one that seems destined to make the greatest progress, however, is the Pueblo of San Jose, situated two leagues to the south of San Francisco Bay in one of the most beautiful and most fertile valleys of this country and in a region that affords all resources and all elements needed to assist in the establishment of a large city. Moreover, since it was chosen as the capital of Lower [Upper] California by the district delegates assembled at Monterey to draw up and discuss a projected constitution for this country,⁴ a great deal of land has been purchased there and property has increased from a hundred to a thousand per cent. in value.

This ever progressive and marvelous growth of this country is due principally to the affluence of a whole people and to the large sums acquired by thousands of individuals since the discovery of the placers, which have given to the immigrants the desire and the means to establish themselves and have developed to the highest degree in this country the enterprising spirit of the American nation. Under this influence and aided by the causes that I have mentioned, that is to say, the general affluence, high wages, the needs of the immigrants, and the large sums in circulation, business continues to show

an activity that more and more surpasses all probabilities and exceeds the most foresighted estimates. Entire cargoes are still readily disposed of and with the exception of a few articles, among which unfortunately are brandies, merchandise continues to sell well, some articles with large profit, such as flour and wines, which have gone up, the former from \$12 to \$20 a sack or barrel, the latter from \$20 and \$25 to \$75 and \$80 a cask. Everything seems to indicate that if the arrivals, especially from the United States, let up a bit, this country will continue to be not only the largest but also the most profitable market for foreign commerce in these seas.

The placers, these inexhaustible sources of wealth and true causes of the marvelous progress of this country, continue to furnish such quantities of gold that it is no longer possible to make even an approximate calculation of their production. The old diggings are still rich and productive and new and important discoveries are announced every day. Recently, thousands of people [have gone] to the north-northwest of the Sacramento River toward the 41st degree [of latitude] and in the same [?] longitude as the other more southerly placers.⁵ All the rivers, all the streams, and all the gulches there are found to be extremely rich repositories of gold, which is found strewn in flakes or disseminated in grains and nuggets of all sizes.

Therefore, Monsieur le Ministre, I must repeat what I had the honor to tell you in my preceding dispatch, that it is no longer possible to judge the extent or limits of this country's needs. Large quantities of goods of all kinds are now being shipped to the settlements on the Sacramento and the San Joaquin from whence they are taken to the placers where all work has again taken on an extraordinary activity and where thousands of people propose to pass the winter and must supply themselves for at least four or five months. Furthermore, thousands of immigrants continue to arrive by all routes. Eight to ten thousand have just entered the country by way of the Sierra Nevada and are, as I have had the honor to say above, completely destitute. Those who come by other ways and who wish to locate permanently here, to build or to rent houses, have nothing of what they need to decorate and furnish them, none of the necessities for a family or a household, and their original expenditures simply to fill their most elementary needs amount to considerable sums.

To these considerations regarding the condition and needs of those arriving in this country and the resultant consumption of goods and merchandise, must always be added the extraordinary resources that are at their disposal in a country where, besides the placers, an artisan earns from \$12 to \$20 a day, mechanics and other workmen from \$5 to \$10, and where servants, male and female, draw from \$100 to \$200 per month. But what disturbs business in this country, makes it uncertain, and makes shipments hazardous, is that speculative purchases are impossible here for the reasons that I have pointed out in several of my preceding dispatches, and that goods are purchased and

disposed of only in proportion to the needs of the moment and rise or fall only according to the exigencies of the moment and to the quantities available.

Another thing that now hinders speculation in goods is the enormous capital employed in the land speculations that now constitute the dominating and general passion of all the country. The fortunes acquired by these speculations are so large and so extraordinary that they excite the leisure classes and the immigrants even more than do the mines and afford temptations from which few of those who arrive here with any capital can restrain themselves. I must add, however, that these speculations have been justified so far by the fact that in most of the new towns the price of land has kept rising and that as soon as lots are improved the rents are so high that one or two years suffice to repay the cost to the purchaser.

M. Guise⁶ not having arrived yet, the captains of French ships and the French businessmen and residents of this port all have need of my presence—of a French official both to fulfill the formalities that the laws of their country require and to defend their interests and their rights before the authorities of this country—and they are continually complaining and asking me to take up my residence in this port. Therefore, at their request and in accordance with the advice of Rear Admiral Le Goarant de Tromelin, who visited the port of San Solito [Sausalito] in this bay at the end of September, I decided to move to Yerba Buena and to abandon my residence at Monterey which requires considerable expense even during my absence and where my intervention is rarely needed. Here, on the contrary, the French ships always need the assistance of the Consul. In the month of August the Chilian ship *La Californie Dorée*, chartered and officered by Frenchmen, was seized, together with the remainder of her cargo. Arriving in this port two or three days after the seizure, I was fortunate enough to be able to have the ship and all that remained aboard restored. Simply to give an appearance of legality to their original proceeding, however, and not to appear to do a favor in an affair where they were within their rights, [the American officials] sentenced the captain to pay a fine of \$500. I afterward obtained permission for the ship to load an outward cargo and by these concessions not only prevented a large loss but procured a profitable result for an enterprise that might have been ruinous.

I will not mention now a hundred other situations in which I have been able to help my compatriots as well here as in Monterey and in other places; for so far, the American authorities have sanctioned my intervention everywhere as the legal defender of the French, whose difficulties frequently arise from their inability to understand or from having recourse to no one who speaks their language and English well enough to make known their grievances and to defend their rights.

As I had the honor to state above, Rear Admiral Le Goarant de Tromelin came here from the Sandwich Islands toward the end of September but he

thought it prudent to anchor at San Solito at the entrance of the bay in order to prevent desertion. I went aboard on the 2nd of October and he was already about to leave, for, despite his precautions, twenty-seven men had deserted in one of the ship's boats. Eight or ten had been caught, but the temper of the crew seemed such that the Admiral thought it prudent to sail immediately. He did not visit the port of Yerba Buena.

I end this dispatch by reminding Your Excellency once more that my position in this country is becoming more and more critical, that my expenses are enormous and that without an increase of salary I shall be obliged to resign from my post.

With the greatest respect,

The Consul of the French Republic,

Acting at San Francisco,

J. A. MOERENHOUT.

NOTES TO DOCUMENT XX

1. Box Monterey; Correspondance de M. Moerenhout, No. 20.

2. Doc. XIX, *supra*, p. 276.

3. The list was not found. See the list of vessels in Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, V, 576-81. A sheet enclosed with this letter gave the following information: Number of ships that visited Yerba Buena during the last six months of 1848, 47, of which there were 14 American, 15 Hawaiian, 9 Chilian, 4 English, 2 Peruvian, and one each French, Tahitian and Russian. Duty collected, \$169,135.08, uncollected, \$40,000; total duty, \$209,135. Value of cargoes sold from the 47 ships, \$1,150,000.

4. Stockton was one of the first products of the gold rush. Originally laid out as Tuleburg by Capt. C. M. Weber on his French Camp rancho in the fall of 1847, the town was little more than a name until the rush began in the summer of '48, when its strategic position on the San Joaquin and the route to the Southern mines made it a natural center of trade. In September, 1848, Capt. Weber returned from the mines and took active charge. He had the town resurveyed, renamed it Stockton for the conquering Commodore, built a store, and by the time of Moerenhout's writing (February, 1849) it was a flourishing tent city and river port, serving as entrepôt to the Southern mines, as Sacramento did to the Northern. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 674-75.

5. *Wellenutte* in the copyist's transcription.

6. John Henry Brown and Robert A. Parker were erecting the Parker House at about this time, at first paying carpenters \$8.00 per day, in coin or in gold dust at the rate of \$10.00 per ounce. They could get only one bricklayer at \$20.00 and a helper at \$16.00. Before the building was finished they had to raise the carpenters to \$15.00. But the profits from the little City Hotel were more than sufficient to provide the \$3,000 per week that went into labor on the Parker House. One gambling room alone was bringing Brown a rent of \$200 per day. Brown, John Henry, *Early Days of San Francisco*, S. F., Grabhorn Press, 1933, pp. 82-88.

7. Doubtless Sacramento. The first public sale of lots took place there January 9, 1849. Captain Sutter, already enmeshed in financial difficulties, had conveyed the site to his son, John A. Sutter, Jr., who originally sold the lots through the agency of

Peter H. Burnett, who made the start of a large fortune in the business and before the year was out was judge of the Supreme Court and then the first elected Governor of the State of California. Bancroft, *op. cit.* II, 736, VI, 447-48; Burnett, Peter H., *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer*, N. Y., 1880, pp. 293-94.

8. The agitation for a civil government had been growing for two years and in December, 1848, and January, 1849, meetings were held in San José, San Francisco and Sacramento which resulted in the resolve to hold a Constitutional convention if Congress should fail to act in the matter before the close of its session in March. To give the movement a more legal and orderly character, Brigadier General Bennet Riley, the new governor of California, issued a proclamation on June 3, calling a constitutional convention. After considerable controversy over his right to take this step, delegates were elected August 1, and the convention assembled at Monterey, September 1, 1849. Bancroft, *op. cit.* VI, 261, 269, 284; Burnett, *Recollections*, 294-99; Goodwin, Cardinall, *Establishment of State Government in California*, N. Y., 1914, pp. 72-86; Willey, Samuel H., *The Transition Period of California*, S. F., 1901, pp. 84-86, 89, 92.

9. A passage regarding routine consular business is omitted at this point. Moerenhout tells of assisting some French passengers from Tahiti in getting their goods through the customs.

NOTES TO DOCUMENT XXI

1. Correspondance Consulaire; Box Monterey; Consulat de France à Monterey, No. 21.

2. Document XX, *supra*. Ministerial notation: "That letter is not with this one, but accompanies a later letter, of the 25th April, which repeats the observations on Monterey."

3. Not found with this document. See, however, Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, V, 576-81.

4. A rather lengthy passage regarding consular affairs is omitted. Moerenhout tells of Étienne Jourdain's refusal to accept the post of consular agent at Yerba Buena, which will make it necessary for Moerenhout to go there himself and spend several months of the year. This leads to the delicate subject of the appointment of a certain M. Langlois as consular agent at San Francisco by Patrice Dillon, then French consul and chargé d'affaires at Honolulu. Langlois, says Moerenhout, is incompetent, and this irregular appointment has caused Moerenhout much embarrassment, by discrediting his own authority. The difficult question of salary is also alluded to. Owing to the extraordinary rise in prices, the Consul says that at least 25,000 francs per year would be required for the most modest livelihood.

FOOTNOTES TO DOCUMENT XXII

1. Correspondance Consulaire; Box Monterey; Consulat de France à Monterey, No. 22.

2. A short passage is omitted, regarding list of vessels and repeating remarks as to contrast between Monterey and Yerba Buena.

3. In the copyist's transcription: *Tualami, la Marced* and *de las Mariposas*.

4. An omitted passage reports the death of Cesáreo Lataillade, "*français de nation*" and Spanish vice-consul, by the accidental discharge of a rifle at Santa Barbara. Lataillade came to California as supercargo of the *Trinidad* in 1842, and became a well-known business man of Santa Barbara. He was appointed vice-consul of Spain in 1846, and in 1848 Consul of France at Monterey, evidently to succeed Moerenhout,

but his death intervened. See Rush to Secretary of State, No. 77, Paris, March 5, 1848, State Dept. Archives, Wash., MSS Despatches: France, Vol. 31; Poussin to Buchanan, Washington, Dec. 26, 1848; *ibid.*, MSS Notes from: France Vol. 13; Buchanan to Poussin, J. B. Moore (ed.), *The Works of James Buchanan*, VIII, 271 *et seq.* Moerenhout reports that he is writing for the archives of the Spanish vice-consulate "to keep here under seal;" also that he is informing the Spanish Minister to Mexico.

5. General Persifor F. Smith, who succeeded Colonel Mason as commander of the military division of California, arrived on the mail steamer *California*, Feb. 26, 1849. Brevet Brigadier General Bennet Riley, Lt. Col., arrived with his brigade at Monterey, April 12, on the transport ship *Iowa*, and assumed office next day as Governor of California. The transport ship *Rome* had arrived a few days before with two companies of infantry under Major Heintzelman. For correspondence of Riley and Smith see 31st Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 17, Serial 573 and *idem*, Sen. Doc. No. 52, Serial 561, pp. 85 *et seq.*; *idem*, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Serial 549, pp. 156-78.

NOTES TO DOCUMENT XXIII

1. Correspondance Consulaire; Box Monterey; Consulat de France à Monterey, No. 23.

2. An omitted passage repeats the news of Lataillade's death (see Note 4 to Doc. XXI, *supra*) and also reports the death of Olivier de Leyssègues, at Monterey, May 10, 1849. The latter had a small part in the Stockton-Frémont-Gasquet-Panaud incident of 1846. Calif. Hist. Soc. *Quarterly*, Vol. XII, pp. 44, 46.

3. Lévy, who drew largely on this consular correspondence, stated that from April, 1849, to the end of that year, 549 vessels entered San Francisco Bay, 233 of them American and 316 foreign. Lévy, Daniel, *Les Français en Californie* (San Francisco, 1884), p. 19. For other statistics see Hittell, J. S., *History of San Francisco* (S. F., 1878), p. 139 *et seq.*; King, Edward A., "Boats arriving in San Francisco Bay from March 26, 1849 to December 30, 1849," *Quarterly* of the Society of California Pioneers, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 36-45.

NOTES TO DOCUMENT XXIV

1. Correspondance Politique, Monterey; Correspondance de M. Moerenhout, no number. Ministerial notation: Copy sent to Ministry of Commerce, Oct. 30, 1849. Urgent.

2. See footnote 2 to Document XXIII, *supra*.

3. Sutterville, Captain Sutter's pet project, was laid out early in 1846, on the east side of the Sacramento some three miles below Sutter's Fort. Sacramento, which really was not started until January, 1849, was better situated at the confluence of the Sacramento and the American, and soon outstripped Sutterville despite the efforts of the latter's promoters, prominent among whom were G. McDougall & Co. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, VI, 15, 447-50.

4. New York of the Pacific was the hope of Colonel J. D. Stevenson and Dr. W. C. Parker of the regiment of New York Volunteers. These men of vision bought the 10,000-acre Los Medanos rancho so that their metropolis of the West should have room to expand from its beginnings at the junction of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers with San Francisco (Suisun) Bay. It grew steadily until it consisted of three buildings and a landing barge, where sailing vessels sometimes called. At this point it announced its candidacy for State capital, but received not one vote. There-

after it rapidly declined and died from the combined effect of disappointment and the neglect which came with the advent of fast river steamers that found no occasion to stop there. In the present century it has been resurrected, however, and under the somewhat more modest name of Pittsburg has become a thriving little industrial city. Wiltsee, E. A., "The City of New York of the Pacific," *Quarterly of Calif. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XII, No. 1, pp. 25-34.

5. An omitted passage lists the French vessels that have put in at San Francisco during the preceding three months, as follows: the *Stanely*, Capt. Pimo Blanc (just sailed for Chile); the *Therèse*, Capt. Pepin; the *Chateau Briant*, Capt. Eymont; the *Victorine*, Capt. Du Bony; the *Rolant*, Capt. Bajoux; the *Olympe*, Capt. Dansas.

NOTES TO DOCUMENT XXV

1. Correspondance Consulaire; Box Monterey; Correspondence of Moerenhout; No. 25. Extracts taken for Ministries of Commerce and Marine, Oct. 4, 1849.

2. Omitted passages repeat previous observations as to commercial difficulties at San Francisco.

3. Moerenhout's estimate is rather high, unless Indians be included. Bancroft says, "barely 100,000 at the close of 1849" (*Hist. of Calif.*, VII, 698). John S. Hittell (*History of the City of San Francisco*, 1878, p. 140) also estimates the population at the end of 1849 as 100,000, including 35,000 who had come by sea as passengers, 3,000 sailors who had deserted their ships and 42,000 persons who had come overland, during that year. The National census of 1850 gave a partial count of 92,597, and a semi-official estimate of 117,538. The State census of 1852 showed a population of 264,435. *State Register for 1857*, S. F. and Sacramento, 1857, p. 114.

NOTES TO DOCUMENT XXVI

1. Correspondance Consulaire; Box Monterey; Moerenhout correspondence; No. 26. Copies and extracts were sent to various ministries, Dec. 7, 1849.

2. In the copyist's transcription, *Placers du Moquelimos, de las Calaberas, du Cosmonos & de l'Arroyo Seco*. The fantastic variations in Moerenhout's versions of the names of the various rivers have been disregarded in the translation as without historical significance, for they appear in their present settled forms in "General Riley's Report of a Reconnaissance of a Portion of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys," dated Sept. 20, 1849, *31st Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 17*, 1850, pp. 941-43. reprinted in California Historical Society *Quarterly*, XI, pp. 102-5.

3. *La ville du Sacrement*. "Sacramento City," like many other California boom towns, started life with a pretentious name, but unlike most of its rivals, lived to justify its pretensions. For the circumstances of its founding see Note 7 to Document XX, *supra*.

4. Regarding the rise and decline of Sutterville, see Note 3 to Document XXIV. The respective locations of Sacramento, Sutterville and Sutter's Fort are well shown on the topographical maps of Lieutenant Derby, reproduced in California Historical Society *Quarterly*, XI, facing pp. 99, 102. The second of these, entitled, "Sketch of General Riley's Route through the Mining Districts, July and Aug. 1849," likewise shows most of the mining camps mentioned by Moerenhout, as they existed at the time of the journey described in this letter.

5. See Document XVI, *supra*, especially pp. 262-64.

6. The founding and early development of Stockton are sketched in Note 4 to Document XX, *supra*.

7. Pierre (Don Pedro) Sainsevain and Charles Roussillon. See Note 13 to Document XVI, *supra*.

8. *Cañada del Barro* ("Mud Canyon") was the scene of the remarkable treasure trove of Coronel's party from Los Angeles in 1848. Coronel, Antonio Francisco, *Cosas de California*, MS in Bancroft Library, summarized in Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, VI, 78-81. Moerenhout's coupling of the names would indicate that this is the same place that the Americans called Sullivan's Diggings, on Sullivan's Creek which flows from Phoenix Lake into Woods' Creek from the east, four miles or so below Jamestown. Cf. Heckendorn & Wilson, *Miners' & Business Men's Directory*, Columbia, 1856, p. [105] which lists Sullivan's Creek, Sullivan's Wet Arroya and Sullivan's Dry Arroya as included under the Curtisville post office. Lewis C. Gunn recorded in his diary: "August 13 [1849] . . . At last we decided to go to Wood's, as it was within five miles of Sullivan's and Mormon and Sonora diggings . . . August 24. Went to Sullivan's Diggings, five miles off [from Jamestown]. Found five dollars in about one hour; felt quite elated with my success. Others here are doing well, but the labor is immense and requires several to work in company. They sink holes thirty feet deep, and while one keeps pumping out the water all the while, another digs the dirt, and a third and a fourth wash it. In some holes they have two pumps constantly at work. The scenery at Sullivan's is truly sublime; high hills and very steep. September 5 . . . Walked down Wood's Creek as far as the mouth of Sullivan's Creek. Scenery very rough and sublime. The hills very high, in fact mountains, and very steep, so that we could scarcely ascend and descend them; in many places it was impossible." Gunn, Lewis C. and Elizabeth L., *Records of a California Family*, San Diego, 1928, pp. 61, 65, 67. Though Moerenhout includes the Sullivan's and Woods' Creek camps in the "Stanislaus Placer," they are in fact in the watershed of the Tuolumne River, into which Woods' Creek flows.

9. The first mining camp in this region appears to have been at Woods' Crossing, on Woods' Creek, both named for the Rev. James Woods, the leader of a "party of Philadelphians" who discovered this enormously rich watercourse early in the summer of 1848. Jamestown, a few miles up the creek, was named for a lawyer, Colonel James, another "forty-eighter," whose promotion schemes incurred so much ill-will that for a while there was considerable dissent from immortalizing his name. Alley, B. F. (pub.), *History of Tuolumne County*, S. F., 1882, pp. 2-3. The two settlements were collectively known as the American Camp, or *Campo Americano*, as distinguished from the *Campo Sonoreno* or Sonoranian Camp. Heckendorn & Wilson, *Miners' & Business Men's Directory*, Columbia, 1856, p. 37.

10. The county histories have not been so careful to preserve the names of the "band of miners from Sonora, Mexico," who pushed up Woods' Creek beyond the Crossing in the summer of '48, shortly after the first arrivals, and established what became known as *Campo Sonoreno* or *de los Sonorenos*, and by the Americans progressively contracted from Sonoranian Camp to Sonorian or Sonoran Camp and finally to Sonora. The richness of the diggings in its vicinity swelled the cosmopolitan population to 5,000 by the end of 1849, but the Foreign Miners' tax of 1850 and accompanying persecutions caused an exodus estimated at from one-half to four-fifths of its inhabitants. *History of Tuolumne County*, *op. cit. supra*, at pp. 2-3, 21; *Miners' & Business Men's Directory*, *op. cit. supra*, pp. 37-40.

11. Quite a number of Frenchmen figured in the early history of this mining region. *Hist. of Tuolumne Co.*, *op. cit. supra*, pp. 1-21. Their names and exploits are given in Daniel Lévy's *Les Français en Californie*, S. F., 1884, pp. 88-99.

12. Ernest de Massey, writing on February 1, 1850, says that Dr. Chevalier was the "son of a highly respected citizen whose place of business is in La Place de la Loge at Langres," and that "some say he has gone to the mines; others that he is living at

Mazatlan, Mexico, and practicing his profession." Massey, Ernest de, *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush*, S. F., 1927, p. 30 (or California Historical Society *Quarterly*, V, 25.)

13. The first alcalde of Sonoranian Camp, R. S. Ham, was self-elected to that office in the fall of 1848, and held it by sufferance of the population until the friends of one Atkins, accused of murder, sought to secure more temperate justice by the impromptu election of a successor to Alcalde Ham. The choice fell upon James Frazier (or Fraser), a Scotchman, who presided at the trial of Atkins, and when the prisoner was found guilty of murder, sentenced him to pay a fine of \$500 and leave the country. The friends of Atkins, dissatisfied with the results of their electioneering, are said to have been ready to subscribe a purse of \$500 to pay the fine of anyone who would kill the alcalde. But his popularity with the populace grew to be such that when the first general election was held, August 1, 1849, for delegates to the Constitutional convention and other offices, but not for local alcalde, Frazier's admirers, unable to demonstrate their esteem by ballots, signed and presented to him the following tribute:

"Sonoranian Camp, 2d August, 1849.

"To Mr. James Fraser: If there had been a vacancy in the office of local alcalde for this camp, and we had consequently voted yesterday for a person to fill that office, we would have voted for you in preference to any other candidate.

"We remain your obedient Servants, . . ."

Hist. of Tuolumne County, op. cit. supra, pp. 13-16. The date of the document above quoted would indicate that in all probability Frazier was the alcalde with whom Moerenhout opened diplomatic relations and who issued whatever *exequatur* forty-niner diplomacy may have required to establish Dr. Chevalier as Consular agent of France at the Southern Mines.

14. ". . . Then, when thou hast returned, in sorrow shalt thou find that thine old claim is worked out, and yet no pile made thee to hide in the ground, or in an old boot beneath thy bunk, or in buckskin bag or bottle underneath thy cabin; but hast paid all that was in thy purse away, worn out thy boots and thy garments, so that there is nothing good about them but the pockets, and thy patience is likened unto thy garments; and at last thou shalt hire thy body out to make thy board and save thy bacon." *Miners' Ten Commandments* (broadside), No. II.

NOTES TO DOCUMENT XXVII

1. Correspondance Consulaire; Box Monterey, Correspondence of Moerenhout; no number. Extract sent to Ministry of Commerce, March 2, 1850.

2. A statement of the collector of the port on Nov. 10, 1849, placed the arrivals since April 1 at 697, of which 401 were American and 296 foreign, and including of course some who made more than one visit. Three hundred and twelve vessels were reported as then lying in the port. During the year ending April 15, 1850, there were 1,113 arrivals, 695 of them American. Bancroft, *History of California*, VII, 123-24.

3. These estimates seem somewhat excessive, though the increase of the city's population was enormous during the winter, with the reflux from the mines. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 168, says 6,000 in August, 20,000 in midwinter; Taylor, Bayard, *Eldorado*, p. 205, says 15,000 in October; Soulé, *et al.*, *Annals of San Francisco*, pp. 219, 226, 244, say at least 20,000 by the end of the year, probably nearer 25,000.

4. As to the calling of the Constitutional Convention of August 1, 1849, see Note 8 to Doc. XX, *supra*.

5. The reference is probably to the Trinity River mines, which would be roughly "to the north-northwest of the Sacramento River" and not far from the 41° N. Lat.

They are of course not in the same degree of longitude as the "more southerly placers," but this error may perhaps be attributed to the copyist, who noted a difficulty in deciphering the original at this point. The original discovery of gold in the Trinity region is attributed to Major Pierson B. Reading, who went there with a party of three white men and about seventy Indian laborers in July, 1848, and took out \$80,000 in six weeks from what came to be known as Reading's Bar. Pierson B. Reading, anon. biography in *Quarterly* of Society of California Pioneers, Vol. VII, p. 137. His return in 1849 was followed by a rush that had grown to be the principal "excitement" of the day when Moerenhout wrote. It was only a few days later that the Gregg expedition set out from Weaverville to explore the lower reaches of the Trinity. After they had found the way to Trinidad and Humboldt bays, thousands of miners came to this region by sea, in 1850. Cutten, C. P., "The Humboldt Bay Region," in *Quarterly* of Society of California Pioneers, Vol. IX, pp. 10-17; Coy, Owen C., *The Humboldt Bay Region*, Los Angeles, 1929, pp. 36-48.

6. Édouard Guys, who had previously served the French Foreign Office at Bogotá and at Panama, was appointed consular agent and then Vice Consul of France at San Francisco in the spring of 1849, evidently in response to Moerenhout's report of the great need for an agent there to serve the French ships and immigrants who came with the Gold Rush. Foreign Minister Drouyn de l'Huys to Ambassador Rush, March 2, 1849, enclosed in Rush to Sec. of State No. 77, State Dept. (Washington), Despatches: France, Vol. 31, MS; Ambassador Poussin to Sec. of State Clayton, Washington, March 15, 1849, and March 30, 1849, State Dept., Notes from: France, Vol. 14, MS; Clayton to Poussin, Washington, March 17 and March 31, 1849, State Dept., Notes to: France, Vol. 6, MS. Guys evidently arrived and replaced Moerenhout within a few days after the latter wrote the above letter, for Lévy, *Les Français en Californie*, S. F. 1884, pp. 63, 355, says that Guys served at San Francisco from Nov. 3, 1849, until July 22 or 25, 1850, when he was replaced by Patrice Dillon, Consul General, who was to figure in the embarrassing diplomatic incident that arose out of recruiting for the filibustering expedition of Count Gaston Raoul de Raousset-Boulbon. Guys was not up to the calibre of his predecessor. His functions seem to have been confined to protesting seizures of French vessels and cargoes, particularly those in which he was interested, for he did not have Moerenhout's ethical feelings as to the impropriety of mixing business with diplomacy. See State Dept., Despatches: France, Vol. 33, and Notes from: France, Vol. 14. We may dismiss him with this judgment of one of his compatriots: "Unfortunately he is head of a colony of immigrants and more interested in his own private affairs than in those of the consulate . . . has neither the funds, time nor character honorably to hold the position he is occupying . . . as he must keep up his position and needs from thirty to forty dollars a day for running expenses, his salary is hardly adequate. For this reason he has had to raise money from outside sources. It is now said that he is ruined and that he leaves on the next steamer for Panama, both to get away from a disastrous bankruptcy and an onerous consulship." Massey, Ernest de, *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush*, S. F., California Historical Society, 1927, pp. 30, 46, and California Historical Society *Quarterly*, V, 25, 41.

THE GENESIS OF THE PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP COMPANY

By John Haskell Kemble

CHAPTER III. GETTING UNDER WAY

The first of the three steamers to be completed was the *California*, which was ready to go to sea by the end of September, 1848. The contract had required that service should begin on the first day of October, but as that fell upon a Sunday, the departure was scheduled for the following Monday, October 2. However, by an order from the Government, that event did not occur until the 6th of the month.¹ On the morning of that day, she dropped down New York Harbor, and lay to opposite Bedloe's Island, where about a hundred invited guests were brought out to her by the towboat *General Lincoln*. During the afternoon, the *California* made a trial run down the bay to Sandy Hook, and out to sea for a few hours, her performance being regarded by those on board as entirely satisfactory. Among these were President Aspinwall, Captain Skiddy who had supervised her building, and the presidents of several insurance companies. An elaborate repast was served, at which "wit and wine equally sparkling passed round the board."² Having rounded the light-ship, the *California* headed back toward New York, and by 4 o'clock was again near Sandy Hook. Here she was met by the steamer *Orus*, which took on board the invited guests who were to return to the city. As the two vessels parted, "they assembled on the upper deck of the *Orus* and gave enthusiastic cheers as the steamer sped onward to her destination."³

The *California* was under the command of Cleveland Forbes, an able officer and one devoted to the company which he served. He had a background of experience in steam, having commanded the ferry boat *John Potter* between New York and Amboy for the past eight or nine years.⁴ There were no passengers on the steamer going through to the Pacific Coast of North America, the handful who were aboard being destined for Rio de Janeiro and Valparaiso.

On the first day out, Captain Forbes was informed that the crosshead of the engine was cracked. It was decided that a replacement should be made and the whole day was spent in hoisting out coal to get at the spare crosshead in the hold. By evening, when the ship was dirty and out of trim, it was decided to continue to use the cracked beam, watch it carefully, and have the spare one ready for use if necessary.⁵

The voyage to Rio de Janeiro was made in fine weather, and the freedom

enjoyed by those on board is reflected in the journal of Dr. Stout, the ship's surgeon:

The finest possible weather, only that the wind was neither fair enough nor full enough for our sailing qualities . . . The morning I passed in reading and studying. Evening the Captain played the accordin, and Mr. Bowen and I waltzed.⁶

One minor tragedy marred the trip, which caused considerable inconvenience to the ship's company when,

Some wretch of a boy shut our poultry closet doors last night, and this morning the scene of death was appalling. It seemed as if a cholera plague had passed through the coops, and at least fifty cadavers were committed to the deep. Six sheep, four pigs, ducks, chickens, turkies and geese, were found, their eyes closed in death . . .⁷

As the steamer drew to the south, the heat increased, and although the cabin was said to be well ventilated, its temperature was five degrees higher than that outside, and an awning was rigged over the cuddy deck for the use of the officers and passengers.⁸

An event of interest on the voyage was the first fire drill, which was held on October 21, and went off very smoothly. The men went rapidly to their stations and "hosepipes and water were soon in requisition; and all the pumps were quickly in activity to extinguish the fire."⁹

The general quiet of the voyage was somewhat broken as the ship neared the equator. Dr. Stout wrote that "the conversation turns frequently upon the subject of 'Lord Neptune,' and the hundreds of sailor-stories of shaving, tarring and feathering are related," but the Line was crossed on October 24, and "to my great joy, Lord Neptune did not appear. The captain endeavored to make me see the *line* by fixing a *stick* across the spyglass, but I eluded the hoax."¹⁰

On November 1, it was discovered that the *California* had run past the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. Immediately she was put about, and by noon of November 2, 1848, was near the port. "Off Santa Cruz we stopped, and blew the steam whistle to spur up the lazy port officers. At 4 P. M. all visits were finished, and under a fine head of steam, the vessel went rapidly to her anchorage, astonishing all spectators by her speed."¹¹ The run from New York had been accomplished in twenty-six days, which was the fastest time which had ever been made between the two ports. The course followed was that worked out by Lieutenant Maury, taking into consideration winds and currents, and the *California* must have been one of the first steamers to make use of his work. It was said at the time, that this voyage was the longest ever accomplished at sea under a continuous head of steam.¹²

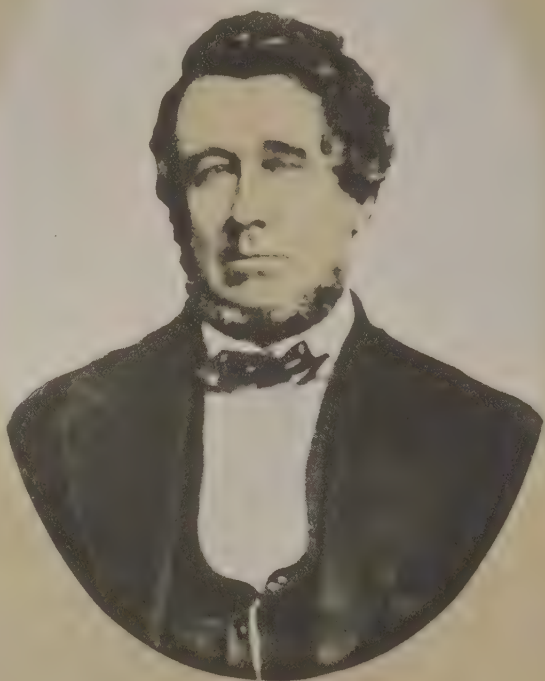
During most of the twenty-three days which the ship lay at Rio taking on coal and making repairs, Captain Forbes, whose health had been very poor during the last days of the voyage, remained on shore resting and recuperating. The steamer aroused much interest in the Brazilian capital, and the Emperor Dom Pedro II expressed his curiosity concerning her.¹³

On November 25, 1848, the anchor was weighed, and the *California* turned her sharp bow south toward the Straits of Magellan. She arrived off Cape Virgins in the early morning of December 7, and by noon of that day, she was in the Straits. "The navigation here was new to our commander. The charts were uncertain, the tides were rapid, and their rise and fall many feet; the size of the vessel great for these narrow Straits . . . the narrowness of the channel and its devious course prevent steering by compass."¹⁴ Further, there was constant danger from "willewahs," or sudden squalls of wind and fog which swept down from the mountains entirely without warning. The *California* was nearly lost in one of these while lying at anchor in York Roads. Some of the officers had been stretching their legs ashore, and were just returning to the ship when "the snow-white form of the 'willewah' peered over the mountain and plunged like a Niagara into our tranquil roadstead." The anchor began to drag and the wind and tide were carrying the vessel rapidly toward the mouth of the harbor when she came to an abrupt stop against a rock. Here she held, all the force of the paddle wheels failing to move her. Two boats were quickly launched, and lashed together with a spar across their bows. They were rowed into the teeth of the squall, and dropped a kedge anchor far out in the bay. With the cable bent around the capstan, and many hands to man it, together with the power of the engine, "the gallant ship yielded to the pressure, and glided off like a swan upon the waters."¹⁵ Fortunately neither the copper sheathing nor the body of the ship was injured, and she was able to proceed to the Pacific. Six days in all were spent in negotiating the Straits, of which the ship lay at anchor more than three-quarters of the time, awaiting favorable winds or tides. On the evening of December 12, 1848, she rounded Cape Pillar, and eased herself into the long Pacific swell.¹⁶

The voyage to Valparaiso occupied only a little more than three days, where on the 16th of December, the *California* dropped anchor. Here Captain Forbes, whose health would no longer allow him to carry out all his duties as commander, secured Captain Marshall, who was in command of a sailing vessel then in port, to assist him. Marshall, who was familiar with the Pacific coast, at first merely aided in navigation, but as Captain Forbes failed to improve in health, the whole command finally devolved upon him. The command of Marshall's ship was taken by one of the officers of the *California*.¹⁷ Captain Marshall had not the force of character of his predecessor, and his weakness nearly brought the ship to disaster before the end of the voyage.

In Valparaiso, there were many applications for passage in the *California*, and her full complement of passengers could have been made up there, but she "refused to take passengers . . . because she expected to find at Panama more than she could carry."¹⁸

After a week in port, replenishing her supply of coal, she sailed on the afternoon of December 22, and headed up the coast for Callao. Arriving



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The Founder and First President of the F. M. S. S. Co.

there on the 27th of December, her people first encountered the news of the extent of the mines of California, and with it an insistent demand for passage to San Francisco. While the *California* was in port, Captain Forbes visited Lima to consult physicians. There the consignees of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, Messrs. Alsop and Company, urged him to take passengers, and as a result, the steamer departed on January 10, 1849, with 17 cabin passengers, and about 80 in the steerage.¹⁹

Two days out of Callao, the *California* made a short call at Payta, and on January 12, headed north again for Panama.

The intense excitement over the discovery of gold on the American River in Alta California did not appear in the eastern United States until December of 1848. When the Reverend Samuel H. Willey was preparing to leave for California late in November of that year, he could find only one map of the region in a New York book store, and that was in the form of a small appendage to a map of Mexico.²⁰ He sailed from New York on December 1, 1848, in the steamer *Falcon* which was the vessel to open the through mail line. Her operators, the United States Mail Steamship Company, had received the mail contract for the New York, Havana, New Orleans, Chagres route, but as yet the steamers built under the contract were not complete, and the *Falcon* was substituted. When she cast off from Pier 4, North River, there were but twenty-nine passengers aboard who were making the trip through to Chagres and California. A large proportion of these were men going out to take Government positions, or to be missionaries in the newly acquired territory. Eighteen days later, the *Falcon* left New Orleans with 178 persons crowding her cabins—the gold fever had seized the United States. As the season of the year was too late for the overland route to be possible, the only alternative for those who did not wish to make the long voyage around Cape Horn was to go by way of Panama. Among the passengers leaving New Orleans in the *Falcon* was General Persifor F. Smith, who, accompanied by his family and staff, was going out as commanding officer of the United States Army in California.²¹

The Pacific Mail sent out its California agent, Alfred Robinson, in the bark *John Benson*, which sailed from New York for Chagres on December 11. This vessel had 60 passengers aboard, of whom Robinson said only 24 were booked through on the steamer *California*. The night before the ship's departure, the news of the discovery of gold was abroad in New York, having come by way of Mexico, but she left too soon for her passengers to know how general and intense was the excitement caused thereby.²²

President Aspinwall wrote Robinson early in December, formally recording his appointment as agent for the Company on the coast of California, with an annual salary of \$2,000. Aspinwall went on to say that, should the steamer not be at Panama, Robinson might either charter a sailing vessel in which to send the passengers on to California, or pay their board at Panama

until the arrival of the steamer. "I give you the alternative for the sake of the future good of the line . . ."

If the steamer is in Panama and more passengers offer than can comfortably be accommodated, an appeal from those likely to be left to General Smith, Prince Steenberg and others who are berthed, would produce from the latter an expression of opinion which would justify Captain Forbes in crowding a little. I have written him to land all that he could of machinery, ship chandlery, and Hhd. bread to make room for your stores and passengers' baggage.

The letter instructed Robinson to sell any additional stores in San Francisco, if they would bring high prices. The mails were to be forwarded to Oregon in the brigs *Belfast* or *Cayuga* "to the mouth of the Klamet River, and if no one is there to receive them, let them go on to Astoria." The vessel which took the mail was to carry on her return voyage to San Francisco either a specimen of coal from the Cowlitz River, or a cargo of freight from Oregon City. "The brig must bring mails in return, or rather ask for them from the postmaster."²³

By January 11, 1849, three sailing vessels, beside the steamers *Falcon*, *Crescent City*, *Orus*, and *Isthmus* had departed from ports of the United States for Chagres, carrying passengers who planned to travel from Panama to San Francisco in the steamer *California*. These vessels brought over five hundred passengers to the Isthmus to await the arrival of the Pacific Mail ship.²⁴

Upon landing at Chagres, the immigrants hired dugout canoes from the Indians, and were paddled and poled up the Chagres River to Gorgona or Cruces. This part of the journey usually took two or three days, and was followed by a hard ride on mule back over the rough trail to Panama City. The hot, damp climate, the unaccustomed food, and the strenuous physical exertion weakened the resistance of many of the travellers, and the toll of lives taken by cholera and tropical fevers was not small. By the 7th of January, the passengers from the *Falcon* began to pour into Panama, and to learn the disappointing news that the *California* had not yet put in an appearance. As the number of prospective passengers in Panama grew, it became clear that the steamer could not carry them all, and the problem of how they were to reach San Francisco was added to the anxiety as to the time of the ship's arrival.

On the morning of January 17, 1849, the cry that a steamer was coming up the bay, passed through the city, and soon after she was recognized as the *California*. The ship came to anchor off the town in the early afternoon, and for those who held through tickets from New York, the problems of the journey were nearly over.²⁵ There were many, however, who were entirely without tickets, and the impossibility of crowding over five hundred individuals into a ship constructed to carry not more than two hundred was clearly apparent. Vacancies might occur either by the death of a ticket holder, or by his agreeing to sell his ticket, and one chance was about as great as the

other. One passenger, who had been given free steerage passage from New York, in return for the promise of his services as a mechanic in San Francisco, refused offers of \$500 for his ticket from Panama to California.²⁶

To make matters worse, the *California* already had on board the passengers who had been booked from Callao. The presence of these Peruvians was particularly resented by the Americans, who felt that their rights as citizens of the United States were in some way being curtailed. The result of this feeling was a characteristic American public meeting, at which officers were chosen, and a committee deputed to wait upon the agents of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, Messrs. Zachrisson and Nelson.

General Smith was moved to compose a statement in the form of a letter to William Nelson, United States Consul in Panama, which called to his attention the fact that "the laws of the United States inflict the penalty of fine and imprisonment on trespassers on the public lands"²⁷ and declaring that he intended to enforce this law in the mining regions of California, excluding all but citizens of the United States.

At another public meeting held at the American Hotel, a series of resolutions was adopted, one of which praised the move made by General Smith and stated the belief that passengers from the Atlantic had prior rights over any persons who might have come on board the steamer on the Pacific coast.

The committee which had called on the agents of the Pacific Mail reported that they had not received satisfaction. The agents maintained that as common carriers they were required to sell transportation to those who first applied, that they would not carry passengers' freight on the *California* because there would be no room, and that passengers had only been taken at Callao because the great demand for passage from Panama could not be anticipated. They stated that the sailing packet *Philadelphia*, which was then discharging coal, had been chartered, and would carry those to San Francisco who could not be accommodated on the steamer. The prospect of the slow voyage from Panama to California, against prevailing winds and currents did not satisfy the demand of the Americans who were anxious to reach the mines in the shortest possible space of time.²⁸

In the mean time, the Peruvians persisted in remaining on board the steamer in spite of General Smith's statement. They refused to go ashore even for recreation, fearing that with the temper of the Americans in Panama in its present condition, they might not be able to return to the ship. Since they knew their rights in the matter, no amount of persuasion could induce them to wait for passage in a later steamer, or to go in the *Philadelphia*.²⁹ Captain Marshall did his part in pacifying the Americans by making the announcement that he intended to let the Peruvians sleep on deck, a thing which he would not allow a "white man" to do, and therefore the ship would carry as many Americans as though the Peruvians were not on board.³⁰

The final understanding reached was that those passengers who had booked

through passage from New York would first be accommodated; after them, those who had come from Callao; and that the remaining space would be allotted to those who had made application to the Panama agents of the Pacific Mail, in the order in which they had registered.³¹ While the *California* lay in the Bay of Panama, taking on coal and supplies, temporary bunks were fitted up in the hold so that she could carry the largest possible number of passengers.³²

On the 30th of January, there was great bustle of packing, and moving trunks and boxes in Panama, and hiring canoes and bargaining with natives, for the steamer was ready to sail, and those who had secured passage in her were going on board. Accommodations on the *California* were crowded to the limit, one of the passengers who had been booked through from New York writing in his diary; "Found berths (holes) Slept on deck on a post and bar of iron . . . Got up, neck, back and arms nearly broke, rubbing on ropes, bars, etc. etc."³³ The experience of another passenger was somewhat the same:

I went into town and presented my letters to the Agents of Howland and Aspinwall . . . They had directed their agents to put me on board the first steamer that came round to Panama. Mr. Nelson very kindly and considerately took me in charge, and furnished me with a box of provisions, for he said . . . what I could not get from the general mess, I must make up from my box . . . He advised me to take a hammock, which I did, and had it hung in the rigging, and slept there most of the way from Panama to San Francisco.³⁴

Another passenger wrote:

Everywhere the ship is crowded; the passengers on each side of the machinery, the upper and lower forward decks, the long steerage extending from the bows far aft on both sides of the engine—all are full, and many of the berths are occupied by two persons each. From the steerage we ascend to the deck above the machinery, and between the wheel houses; an awning has been spread over this, and between thirty and forty persons live and sleep here. They are . . . Peruvians . . . The staterooms and cabins are all crowded to their utmost capacity . . . The writer . . . obtained his ticket very early in New York, and yet has no berth on the ship, and neither sheet nor pillow since he left Panama . . .³⁵

There were in all about 365 passengers on board the *California* when she steamed away from Panama in the early morning of January 31, 1849, and with her crew of 36, the total number on board the steamer ran to over 400.³⁶ She came to anchor later in the day close to the rocky island of Taboga, which lay a short distance down the Bay of Panama. Here the water was excellent, and the steamer could lie close inshore, while her tanks were being filled, and fresh fruit was taken aboard. That night she remained at anchor, and the next morning she got under way at about nine o'clock, and steamed down the Gulf of Panama with the sails aiding the paddles. By the morning of February 2, 1849, the *California* had doubled Cape Mala, and was headed to the northwest for Acapulco.³⁷

The first problem which presented itself to those on board the *California* was that of food. Proper provisions for the number of passengers who were in the vessel had been impossible to obtain in Panama, and the food served, particularly in the steerage, was the subject of complaint from the beginning. During the voyage, some of Stowell's comments were:

"Coffee, jerk beef and hard bread for breakfast."

"Hard living."

"Jerk beef bad, coffee most outrageous. Much complaint. Root pig or starve, by jinx."

"Still hard living. *Most miserable stuff* for coffee and tea, black bread, thin mush and no salt, dirty molasses etc. Grabbing for fresh meat."³⁸

Once Stowell mentioned, "Duff for dinner," and again later in the voyage, "Fried bread for breakfast, hem! Fat living."³⁹ That fresh meat was available to the *California's* passengers for at least part of the voyage, is clear from the notation, "*Had the hogs moved.*"⁴⁰ The method of serving out the food to the steerage passengers was described thus: "Various eating clubs have been formed on the fore-deck, appointing captains, secretaries, vices, etc., the captain's duty being to get the grub from the cook, apportion it to his men, etc."⁴¹

The food problem had serious results before the ship had been two days at sea. The steerage passengers appointed a committee which waited upon Captain Marshall to complain of their fare. "The eloquence of the chairman of the committee, a first-class butcher, was more forcibly direct than persuasively elegant. 'Is that crawling stuff,' said he, pointing to a kid of beef that had been placed before the captain, 'the kind of food to crowd down the throats of free-born Americans?' " Captain Marshall, who was "an excellent navigator, a well-meaning man, and apparently desirous of doing all in his power to make the passengers comfortable . . . lacked force of will and decision." Though his explanation that the unexpected conditions had made it impossible to plan for the large number of passengers was accepted, the steerage refused to believe that they were being given the best provisions obtainable in Panama. Captain Marshall thus virtually lost control of the passengers early in the voyage, and within a few days, "A band of roughs, their anger excited, and their appetites whetted by the sight and smell of savory dishes cooked for the cabin, attacked the cook and stewards, drove them from the cook-house, and took forcible possession of the viands."⁴²

Some days out of Panama, the *California* entered the Gulf of Tehuantepec, famous for its rough weather, and here encountered a severe gale, of which Captain Marshall reported, "During the gale the ship worked as well as ever. I could not perceive any difference in the working of the machinery, and she kept good headway against a very heavy sea, having averaged 5 knots the 24 hours round. The *California* is decidedly the best sea boat I ever saw."⁴³

In the late afternoon of February 9 the steamer entered the land-locked port of Acapulco, and dropped anchor where once the Manila galleons had lain. Over two days were spent in port, loading provisions, and replenishing the stock of water on board. The latter was difficult to obtain in large quantities, since it had to be bailed out of the few shallow wells about the town. The passengers enjoyed the opportunity to spend time ashore, and took advantage of it to lay in private stocks of fruit, bread, sugar, and other provisions, to supplement the inadequate fare on shipboard. All were on board the *California* again by noon on the 11th, and at 1 o'clock she put to sea.⁴⁴

The run to San Blas required two days, and during the night of February 13-14, the ship arrived off that port, but waited until morning to enter. Her stay here was short, and by afternoon of the same day, she was at sea on her way up the coast to Mazatlan.⁴⁵

Ever since the departure from Panama, there had been a noticeable spirit of insubordination among the crew. On the run between San Blas and Mazatlan, this flared forth into mutiny when a stowaway was discovered in the engine room. He had been secreted there by one of the firemen, and when Captain Marshall had hunted out the offending man, he ordered him put in irons. As soon as this news reached the "stoke hole," all the firemen came on deck, refusing to work until their associate had been released. In the absence of any alternative to run the ship, Captain Marshall ordered the man's irons knocked off, and the men returned to duty.⁴⁶ When the ship came into the harbor of Mazatlan, however, on the morning of February 15, 1849, the Commander, with the aid of the Mexican authorities, seized the ring-leaders in the mutiny, put them ashore, and shipped Mexicans in their places.⁴⁷ The vessel remained in port the remainder of the day, and put to sea in the evening, heading across the Gulf of California for Cape San Lucas, which she rounded at sunrise on the 17th of February.

The voyage was not one entirely made up of hardships, if some of the entries in the diary of Levi Stowell give a true picture of life on board.

"A plenty of fun on deck, all kinds of games going on, singing, stories, etc."

"Lovely moonlight nights, pleasant talks of the girls, and matters and things at home, their enjoyments and ours, the contrast etc. etc. sitting out on the guards."

"Ned and others kept us awake all night kicking up Bob, singing, swearing, smoking etc."⁴⁸

As the *California* coasted northward, the weather became distinctly cooler, and the end of the voyage seemed immediately in sight. The last cases of tropical fever, which had kept Dr. Stout busy up to this time, but which had not proved fatal in any of the cases, disappeared. The ship's officers now, however, began to be worried by the state of the coal supply. She had been burning some fifteen tons per day, and her bunkers had not been replenished since leaving Panama. The harbor of San Diego was passed on the night of

February 20-21, but due to the dangerously low supply of fuel, the ship did not call there. The next day, she passed Santa Catalina Island, and continued on through the Santa Barbara Channel, but when the *California* was still three hundred miles from Monterey, the coal supply gave out altogether, and she lay inert on the leaden, heaving waters. The condition was indeed serious, since both water and provisions were running short. The ship was heeled over to bring one of the paddle-wheels out of water, and men were set to work removing the buckets from the ends of the arms, in order to improve her sailing qualities. It was found, however, that the buckets were rusted in place, and that their removal would be a very lengthy undertaking. The ship was righted again, all sail put on, and orders were issued to cut up all the available wood on board. Spars, transoms, bunks, cabin ornaments—in fact everything which could be spared without impairing the safety of the ship—were ruthlessly hacked to pieces and stacked ready for burning. Nevertheless, it was soon evident that not enough wood could be taken out of the ship to bring her into Monterey. The sails were not adequate to carry the ship to port, and matters were looking exceedingly black for the future of the *California* when, in taking out some of the inner planking of the ship along the keel, about a hundred sacks of coal were discovered, where they had been placed when she was fitting out in New York. The coal was hoisted out, steam was raised, and the paddles again drove the steamer northward.⁴⁹

On the morning of February 23, the ship's officers were convinced that she was near the entrance of Monterey Bay, but the shoreline was obscured by a heavy fog. Conditions were still serious, since the amount of fresh water on board was nearly exhausted, and the coal supply could not hold out for very long. At about 10 o'clock, the fog lifted somewhat, and the *California* stood in for shore, finding herself directly off Point Pinos.

As we sailed up the bay and approached the shore, through the mist dimly seen waved the Star Spangled Banner, and at the first sight a spontaneous, enthusiastic cheer burst from the lips of one and all. Soon a flash was seen, a small cloud of white smoke arose, and the roar of cannon boomed across the waters. Another and another followed until eighteen guns had been fired as a salute to our vessel!

We neared the shore almost in silence and waiting until the anchor had ceased falling all with one accord hailed their country with nine deafening cheers.⁵⁰

The *California* had been anxiously expected at Monterey for over a month, and it was with joy that the American inhabitants heard the guns from the Presidio, which announced that she had put into the harbor. In the first boat to go out to the ship were Thomas O. Larkin and William T. Sherman, and no sooner had they climbed the rope ladder which was lowered from the deck, than they were literally flooded with questions as to the extent and richness of the mines.⁵¹

The *California* lay at Monterey for five days, while wood was being cut on shore to burn on the voyage to San Francisco. Such passengers as were willing to work were paid \$5 a day to assist in cutting the wood. The ship was

not a very comfortable place to stay, since most of her interior fittings had been cut up, and the passengers spent most of their time on shore during the stay in port. On February 26, some more coal was discovered on board, and since about twenty-five or thirty cords of wood had been cut, the steamer made ready to put to sea on the last leg of her long voyage. The passengers were all on board by 5 o'clock on the afternoon of the 27th of February, and in the early evening the *California* got up anchor and put out to sea.⁵²

News had come to San Francisco in January of 1848, that the Government had contracted for the conveyance of a regular mail to the Pacific, and since that time considerable interest had been manifested as to the nature of the service and the ships which were to maintain it.⁵³ At the beginning of February, 1849, the *Alta* carried an editorial which read in part:

LOOK OUT FOR THE STEAMER!

The knowing ones say that we may daily look for the first steamer. If this be so, ought not our citizens to take some steps to manifest their joy at an occasion so full of interest to this Port? We most strenuously recommend the holding of a public meeting, the appointment of a committee of arrangements, and the raising of a fund for the burning of powder and spermaceti on the occasion. It is an event so fraught with future hopes of advantage, that our memories will almost deserve execration if we do not celebrate the event with proper style and spirit . . .⁵⁴

The *California's* passengers were on deck betimes on the morning of February 28, for the steamer was drawing near the entrance to San Francisco Bay. The weather was chill, and although there was no fog, the sky was overcast. At about 10 o'clock, the helm was put over, the *California* quitted her long northward course, and headed through the Golden Gate.⁵⁵ The *Alta* of February 29, described her arrival:

The *California* is a truly magnificent vessel, and her fine appearance as she came in sight off the Town called forth cheer upon cheer from our enraptured citizens, who were assembled in masses upon the heights commanding a view of the Bay, and in dense crowds at the principal wharves and landing places. She passed the vessels of war in the harbor under a salute from each, returned by hearty cheering from the crowded decks, and at eleven was safely moored at the anchorage off the town.⁵⁶

Thomas C. Lancey, who was in the U. S. S. *Dale*, one of the squadron of Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, thus commented on the arrival of the *California*:

Saluted her with 17 guns in company with the rest of the squadron. She being the first American steamer that ever entered the Pacific Ocean. Boarded her with the Comdr. of the *Dale* John Budd, Esq. as soon as her wheels were stopped—found her crowded with passengers and in most filthy condition.⁵⁷

Before the *California's* arrival at San Francisco, it was generally predicted that she would be deserted by her crew upon arrival. The force of Captain Marshall had not been sufficiently great to prevent a mutiny on the voyage up the coast, and the attraction of the mines was so great as to make it virtually impossible for any master, let alone a weak one, to keep a crew on

board.⁵⁸ The day after the steamer's arrival, several of the officers and crew deserted, and within less than a week all had left the steamer, with the exception of Captain Forbes, to whom the command reverted with the departure of Marshall. He called upon Commodore Jones for a detachment of men to take charge of the ship to keep her from drifting ashore, while one of the engine room boys who returned to the vessel was able to keep the machinery oiled and in good condition.⁵⁹

It is doubtful whether Captain Forbes made very strenuous efforts to keep a full crew on the *California*, since the coal ship which had been dispatched from England with fuel had not put in an appearance, and it was impossible for the steamer to move without coal. It was later learned that the collier *Superior* had entered the Bay of San Francisco in Lower California, through a misunderstanding on the part of the captain, who thus lost his "westing" and made a very long passage to the northern port.⁶⁰

While the steamer lay swinging at her moorings, men were employed on board in painting and repairing the damage done to her fittings in getting wood for fuel before reaching Monterey. Captain Forbes was forced to pay painters \$260 a month for this work, while the seamen who could be obtained received \$120 to \$150 a month.⁶¹ The faithful conduct of Captain Forbes, in staying by his ship when others left her, was an important factor in the early establishment of regular sailings to Panama, and was recognized by the directors of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, on his return to New York, by the presentation to him of a purse and a silver service.⁶²

In the meantime, the steamer *Panama* had been made ready to sail from New York for the western station. She put to sea on December 1, 1848, the same day on which the *Falcon* sailed for Chagres.⁶³ When she was five days out, "for some unaccountable cause to those on board, the steam cylinder and piston became crooked, and the engine of course useless." The ship was immediately put about for New York under sail, where she arrived about the middle of December. Upon examination, it was found that a block of wood "had by some means, been introduced into the cylinder, and the immense force of the piston striking upon the wood, had finally broken the piston, and so damaged the cylinder, as to render them both unfit for use."⁶⁴

The third of the fleet, the *Oregon*, sailed for the Pacific only a few days after the departure of the *Panama*, and before the return of the latter to New York for repairs. She was under the command of Captain R. H. Pearson, who had been appointed by Aspinwall as the first commander of the line, and had acted as the Company's representative in observing the construction of the steamers. He wrote that, previous to his departure in the *Oregon*, President Aspinwall in his verbal instructions had "said that I was to be careful and not have the ship seized or delayed in any foreign port, that he expected me to be beaten on the trip out, as the other two captains were steamboat-men, while I was unaccustomed to handling steamers."⁶⁵

The *Oregon* sailed from New York in the early afternoon of December 8, 1848. After a voyage unmarred except by such minor accidents as a loose register lever pin, a breakdown of the larboard feed pump, and the necessity of stopping the ship to pack the piston rod stuffing box, she came to anchor in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro on January 3, 1849, "all well and in good order." Two days out of New York, the chief engineer had complained, "Engineers and firemen's rooms too hot to live."

Considerable anxiety was felt on the *Oregon*, when it was found that the *Panama* had not yet put in an appearance at Rio de Janeiro, and when, after taking on coal and supplies, the *Oregon* put to sea on January 14, there was still no news of the missing steamer. An illuminating detail of ship life was entered in the engineer's log on January 17, 1849: "The Assistant Engineers wanted their bed clothes changed, being offered Firemen coverlids and pillow cases refused such and slept without any at all."

Ten days out of Rio, the *Oregon* arrived off Cape Virgins, and negotiated the Straits of Magellan in the ensuing thirty-six hours, during which time the ship stopped only once, and that to allow Captain Pearson to go ashore. She passed Cape Pillar on the morning of January 26, 1849. During four days after leaving the Straits, the *Oregon* was battered by heavy seas, which rolled her outer guards six feet under water, and racked the machinery; but keeping her head into the seas, she continued her way to Valparaiso, where she arrived on the evening of February 2. She sailed again for Callao on the 6th, "in good order and all well." As the ship steamed north into the equatorial belt, the winds died, and the sails were furled, being of no use. The heat in the firemen's room rose to between 90 and 100 degrees, since there was no draft there, and the men's quarters were finally shifted forward, where the air was better. Wind sails were set above the fire room, but they brought little relief, and the men grew weak with the heat. The *Oregon* reached Callao on the morning of February 12, and put to sea again on the 18th. A short stop was made at Payta on the afternoon and evening of the next day, and she anchored in the Bay of Panama in the evening of February 23, 1849. "Saw the lights on shore. Kept up steam all night and the vessel to anchor very bad for boilers in getting no change of water."⁶⁶

When Captain Pearson went ashore at Panama, he found conditions which were much the same as those at the time of the *California's* arrival. There were many more applicants for passage than the steamer could possibly accommodate. Both Captain Pearson and Captain Stout, who was in Panama at the time, were followed about by eager applicants for tickets whenever they showed themselves on shore. One passenger reported that the agents of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company in Panama, when they found how great was the demand for passage, raised the price of steerage tickets to \$1,000.

They put up a notice that tickets issued after a certain date would not be received for the vessel. We got up an indignation meeting, went down to the office of the Agents

on the 22nd of February, and told them that if they did not take down their notice we would tear down their building and take possession of the steamer when she came in, upon which they yielded the point and took down the objectionable notice, and all who had tickets for that steamer came up in her.⁶⁷

There was some resale of tickets in Panama, and in several instances \$1,000 was paid for a steerage passage.⁶⁸ When the ship's company was finally made up, there were between 250 and 300 passengers on board, and Captain Pearson was much annoyed to find a number of stowaways on the ship after sailing. One of these was said to have completely pacified the Captain, when to the query "Who are you?" the man replied, "Howland and Aspinwall's nephew."⁶⁹

The commander faced the problem, not only of finding room in the ship for all the passengers, but of securing food and cooking facilities. He wrote, "I had . . . not a knife, fork or spoon for the steerage passengers, or even a kitchen in which to cook for them. Salt beef, jerked beef, hard bread, beans and rice, were about all the provisions that could be gathered up in Panama." Pearson heard of an old negro who had a ship's stove set up at Gorgona, where he was doing a thriving business cooking for travellers as they passed through. He sent two men who desired passage to San Francisco to try to buy the stove, promising them free passage to California in return. They gave \$300 for the old stove, with its pans and kettles, and packed it over the rough trail to Panama on the heads of natives. By the time it reached the steamer, it was badly battered and broken, but wired together on the fore deck, with a shed built over it, it served as steerage galley for two voyages.⁷⁰

Passengers were taken on board the *Oregon* in small boats on the evening of March 12, 1849, and at dawn the next morning she ran down to Taboga, where she took in water before going to sea. The heat remained tropical for a number of days, the temperature in the engine room rising as high as 128 degrees.⁷¹

One of the passengers wrote that "the fear of being crowded proved groundless, for no inconvenience from numbers was experienced. The ship was well officered and kept scrupulously clean. The passengers were gentlemanly in demeanor, and all on board, with a few exceptions, enjoyed excellent health."⁷² The call at Acapulco was omitted by the *Oregon*, and she arrived in the harbor of San Blas early on the morning of March 22. Here she lay for four days, while coal was being lightered on board. This was evidently the coal purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company, and its quality was poor. The engineer wrote of it, "Very bad coal, one half sand."⁷³

The *Oregon*, being the first steamer to coal at San Blas, attracted considerable attention, and she was visited and inspected with interest by the *comandante* and the town officials.⁷⁴ She sailed on the afternoon of March 25, and one of the passengers wrote: "Listening to the tramp and song of the sailors at the capstan and windlass we caught the words—

'The Oregons are a jolly crew,
O, yes, O!
A bully mate and captain too,
A hundred years ago'.⁷⁵

From San Blas, she headed directly for Cape San Lucas, and after passing it, bucked a head sea and the northwest trades up the coast of Lower California to San Diego, where she arrived in the early morning of March 30. She lay in the harbor only half an hour to take on and leave mails, and continued her course to Monterey where a brief call was made the next afternoon.⁷⁶ The passage up the coast had been made in remarkably good time, particularly in the light of the statement of one passenger that the only charts available were some small French maps, and that the officers had to "feel their way" along when they ran inshore.⁷⁷

As the *Oregon* neared San Francisco, Captain Pearson became aware of unusual excitement among some of the passengers, and saw that something was brewing between them and the crew. He kept a sharp lookout, and came to the conclusion that the passengers were planning to aid the crew in deserting after the arrival of the ship in San Francisco. She steamed past the heads, and entered San Francisco Bay on the morning of April 1, 1849, but instead of anchoring off the city, Captain Pearson steered for the U. S. S. *Ohio*, which was anchored at Sausalito and flying the broad pennant of Commodore Jones. He brought the *Oregon* alongside the *Ohio* and, ordering out the gig, was rowed over to the warship for a conference with the Commodore. "I asked [him] if he could render me any assistance to keep my crew, as it was of vital importance to the company and the Government to carry out the mail contract . . . He said he would aid me all he could, if I would anchor under his guns . . ." Jones related, however, as an instance of how desperate the men had become to reach the mines, that a boat's crew had deserted the *Ohio* the day previous, under fire of the marines.

Captain Pearson returned to the *Oregon*, and arranged for a sailing vessel to carry the passengers and their baggage to San Francisco. When all hands were called to put out the mails and baggage, the men refused to work on the ground that the day was Sunday, and the passengers "took a hand, swearing they would not go to town in the bark, etc." The refusal of duty by the crew was mutiny, and Pearson immediately called for marines from the *Ohio*. Nine of the crew were arrested, and sent aboard the warship, where they were put in irons.

Later in the day, a message arrived from Alfred Robinson, the agent in San Francisco, which ordered the *Oregon* to anchor off the town to discharge her passengers. It pointed out that there was no coal with which to make the return voyage, and that, at any rate, Captain Pearson could not hope to keep his crew. All night the *Oregon* lay beside the *Ohio*, her decks lighted

with lanterns, and her watch officers supplied with pistols and under orders to fire on any boat which did not sheer off when hailed.

In the morning, she steamed across the bay, and anchored off San Francisco. Captain Pearson, after ordering that no boats be allowed to come alongside, hired four passengers to row him ashore, since he could not trust the crew for such duty. After hiring a floating stage, or barge, he towed it out to the steamer, "put as many passengers and as much baggage on it as it would hold safely, and warped them on shore by a kedge and lines, the passengers hauling in the rope and coiling it down while my boat ran out the anchor." By evening all the passengers were landed, as well as two of the crew, who were "disguised in dress-coats and clean shaven faces."⁷⁸

During the stay in port, there were a number of desertions among the crew, and some violence on board, the second mate's head being cut severely by blows from a pistol butt. One other man refused duty, and was promptly put into irons, while the deserters were partially replaced by men hired at shore wages.⁷⁹ The crew had signed on in New York for three years at \$12 per month. After the *Oregon's* arrival in San Francisco, Captain Pearson added \$100 a month to these wages, and was even then unable to keep a full crew. On his own authority, he raised the pay of the chief officer to \$250 per month, and that of the cook to \$200. Pearson, himself, had agreed to serve for three years at \$150 a month, and he continued to receive this salary until it was increased by the officers of the Company in New York.⁸⁰

The *California* was lying in the harbor without coal or crew aboard, and while the *Oregon* was in port an engineer was sent from her to the other vessel, and the spare crosshead of the *Oregon* was put on the *California* to replace the one cracked on the voyage between New York and Rio de Janeiro.⁸¹

Within a few days of her arrival, the *Oregon* was ready for sea again, and Captain Pearson called on the agent for orders. The rejoinder was that there were no orders to give, that the coal ship had not yet put in an appearance, and that consequently the ship could not sail. "I volunteered to take my ship down on the 70 tons [left from the northbound voyage] trusting to wind and sail to reach San Blas, where the Company had 300 tons more." Pearson was insistent in his requests to be allowed to carry out this plan, and Robinson hesitated "doubtless . . . on the question of vitiating the insurance in case I failed to control the ship under canvas." The permission was finally given and the *Oregon* made ready to sail. In the late afternoon of April 12, 1849, the steamer, with seventy-five passengers, and \$166,656.07 in treasure on board, got up anchor and ran over to Sausalito. There the men who had been placed aboard the *Ohio* in irons, were brought back to the *Oregon*, and she steamed out into the Pacific at about midnight. The next morning, the steamer put into Monterey for a few hours to take on the mail, but by afternoon she was at sea again. On the 17th of April the ship was

stopped, seven buckets were taken off each wheel, and she proceeded toward San Blas under sail. The *Oregon* reached this port on the 21st, and spent five days there coaling. There were no lighters available, and 150 tons of coal was brought aboard in the ship's own boats. She left San Blas on the morning of the 26th of April, but the coal taken on board was very bad, the glass from the sand in it running through the grate bars and stopping them up; and with little or no draft, the engineer found it almost impossible to raise steam. On April 28, a short call was made at Acapulco for water, and on May 5, 1849, the *Oregon* came to anchor in the Bay of Panama, having completed the first round voyage on the mail run.⁸²

While the *California* and *Oregon* were coming to the Pacific, the *Panama* had been undergoing repairs in New York; and on February 18, 1849, she sailed for the Pacific with fifty-seven passengers aboard,⁸³ and under the command of David Porter of the United States Navy. During the first days of the voyage she encountered heavy seas, but as the ship reached southern latitudes the weather grew milder, and she put into Rio de Janeiro twenty-six days out of New York. The voyage through the Straits of Magellan and to Panama, calling at Valparaiso en route, was accomplished without undue occurrence. The press of passengers was not quite so great for the *Panama*, since there had been no steamer going north for two months, and a number of passengers had gone on in sailing vessels. Further, the *Oregon* had arrived before the departure of the *Panama*, so that if passengers could not go in one ship, they might find room in the other. When she did sail, however, on May 18, there were 290 passengers aboard the *Panama*, one of whom (M. Hall McAllister) wrote:

"The deck is so crowded that it is almost impossible to obtain a seat. T. B. King is the third person in our state-room; he has the lower berth, Sam Ward the upper, and I the bunk . . . We have but two meals, breakfast and dinner. Three tables are set for each meal. The old passengers have the first table, and are the most comfortable."

The same individual wrote on May 30:

"In the evening had a theatrical performance on the upper deck . . . Much amusement was afforded. The chef d'oeuvre of the evening was 'The Rescued Maiden'. Maiden, Dr. Colton; Ravisher, Derby; Rescuer, Hoope. The performance continued until half past ten."

On the morning of June 1, 1849, the *Panama* entered San Diego Bay, and came to anchor to land the mails, and the Mexican Boundary Commission, headed by Colonel Weller. Some of the passengers went ashore, among them Hall McAllister, who, while visiting the hide house of Bryant and Sturgis on the beach, felt particularly close to Dana and *Two years before the mast*. By early afternoon, the passengers were back on board, and the voyage was continued.

The night before the *Panama's* arrival in San Francisco, the coal had run

so low that all the barrels and loose timbers about the vessel had to be burned in order to keep up the fires. At daylight on the morning of June 4, the steamer was off the heads, and "passed between the Chrysopylae, or Golden Gate, with a very strong wind blowing directly aft, which materially aided our scanty stock of fuel." As the anchor splashed into the waters of the bay, and the chain roared out through the hawse pipe, the third of the Pacific Mail steamers had reached her destination.⁸⁴

The *California* was no longer in San Francisco, having sailed for Panama on May 1. The coal ship had arrived during April, and she had been able to make an excursion to Benicia with a party of invited guests as early as the 21st of that month.⁸⁵ The rates of passage from San Francisco to Panama in her were fixed at \$250 in the cabin, and \$100 steerage.⁸⁶ She carried from San Francisco fifty-four passengers, and \$346,653.25 in treasure. The *California* failed to replenish her supply of coal at San Blas on the trip down, and ran out of fuel before reaching Panama. She was obliged to burn her spars, berths, bulkheads, and life boats to a value of about \$4,000, in order to make Taboga.⁸⁷

With the departure of the *Panama* from San Francisco for the south on June 20, 1849, the Pacific Mail service between Panama and San Francisco was in full operation. From that time forward, the steamers sailed with remarkable regularity, and carried out the service in an effective manner. The mails were transported to Oregon in sailing vessels for nearly a year to come, until steamers could be spared from the Panama line to run to Astoria.

The beginnings of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company offer an important example of the solution of a problem new to Americans. The necessity for communication with distant possessions, and the desire for modern naval development fathered the enterprise. Once it was planned and partially set in operation, the great and entirely unexpected demands of the California trade threw heavy strains upon it, which were withstood remarkably well. Great and immediate financial success came because it was in the strategic place at the right time, but the story has wider significance as the prelude to America's greatest bid for maritime supremacy in the age of steam.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Stout, Arthur B., "Journal," *First steamship pioneers*, p. 88.
2. *New York Daily Tribune*, October 9, 1848; *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, October 7, 1848, quoted in Berthold, *California*, pp. 4-7.
3. *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, October 7, 1848, quoted in Berthold, *California*, pp. 4-5.
4. *New York Daily Tribune*, October 9, 1848, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 7.
5. Stout, "Journal," pp. 90-91.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.
12. *New York Herald*, January 17, 1849; quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 29.
13. *Pacific Mail*, Vol. I, No. 3 (January, 1919), p. 8.
14. Stout, "Journal," p. 113.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-16.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.
17. *New York Herald*, February 18, 1849, and March 6, 1849; quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 32.
18. *Alta California*, February 22, 1849, p. 2, col. 3. *New Orleans Times*, February 24, 1849, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 32.
19. Berthold, *California*, p. 34. *National Intelligencer*, February 15, 1849, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 35.
20. Samuel H. Willey, "Personal memoranda of Samuel H. Willey," MS. in Bancroft Library, p. 5. Hereafter cited as Willey, "Memoranda."
21. *First Steamship Pioneers*, pp. 37-38. Berthold, *California*, pp. 90-91.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 103. Robinson, "Statement," p. 23.
23. Aspinwall to Robinson, December 8, 1848; *Pacific Mail*, Vol. II, No. 5 (July, 1920), pp. 4-5.
24. *New York Herald*, January 16, 1849, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 18.
25. Levi Stowell, "Diary for the year 1849," MS. in Borel Collection, Stanford University. Hereafter cited as Stowell, "Diary."
26. Henry F. Williams, "Statement of recollections on early days of California by a pioneer of 1849," MS. in Bancroft Library, p. 2.
27. *New York Daily Tribune*, February 24, 1849, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 39. See also letter of Major General P. F. Smith to W. L. Marcy, Secretary of War, dated Panama, January 26, 1849, *31st Cong., 1st Sess., Ex. Doc. No. 17*, pp. 708-9.
28. *New York Daily Tribune*, February 24, 1849, quoted in Berthold, *California*, pp. 39-42.
29. Willey, "Memoranda," p. 75.
30. Letter in *New York Daily Tribune*, March 9, 1849, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 38.
31. Robinson, "Statement," p. 25.
32. Crosby, "Memoir," p. 10.
33. Stowell, "Diary," January 30, January 31, 1849.
34. Crosby, "Memoir," pp. 9-10.
35. W. "By land and sea to California," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, quoted in Littell's *Living Age*, XXI, 163.
36. Berthold, *California*, p. 49.
37. W., "By sea and land to California," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, quoted in Littell's *Living Age*, XXI, 163. Stowell, "Diary," January 31, February 1, 1849.
38. *Ibid.*, February 1, February 2, February 6, February 19, 1849.
39. *Ibid.*, February 4, February 21, 1849.

40. *Ibid.*, February 2, 1849.
41. Stephen H. Branch, letter of, February 2, 1849, New York *Herald*, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 52.
42. Dunbar, *Romance of the age*, pp. 79-82.
43. Marshall to Aspinwall (Acapulco), February 11, 1849; New York *Daily Tribune*, March 19, 1849, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 54.
44. Stowell, "Diary," February 9-11, 1849.
45. *Ibid.* February 14, 1849.
46. Letter of Stephen Branch in New York *Journal of Commerce*, February 15, 1849, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 55.
47. Dunbar, *Romance of the age*, pp. 83-84. Lancey, "Journal," II, 180-81.
48. Stowell, "Diary," February 2, 13, 20, 1849.
49. Dunbar, *Romance of the age*, pp. 85-88. Stowell "Diary," February 22, 1849.
50. Correspondence of Albany *Atlas*, reprinted in New York *Herald*, May 30, 1849, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 61.
51. William T. Sherman, *Memoirs* (New York, 1875), I, 62. Willey, "Memoranda," p. 97.
52. Lancey, "Journal," II, 181. Stowell, "Diary," February 23-27, 1849. Correspondence of Albany *Atlas*, reprinted in New York *Herald*, May 30, 1849, quoted in Berthold, *California*, p. 61.
53. *California Star*, January 8, 1848, p. 2, col. 1.
54. *Alta California*, February 1, 1849, p. 2, col. 4.
55. Stowell, "Diary," February 28, 1849. Lancey, "Journal," II, 173.
56. *Alta California*, March 1, 1849, p. 2, col. 3.
57. Lancey, "Journal," II, 173.
58. W., "By sea and land to California," from New York *Commercial Advertiser*, quoted in Littell's *Living Age*, XXI, 164.
59. Berthold, *California*, p. 63.
60. R. H. Pearson, "Memoir" in San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, March 3, 1868, p. 1, col. 1. Hereafter cited as Pearson, "Memoir."
61. William Redmond Ryan, *Personal adventures in Upper and Lower California in 1848-9* . . . (London, 1850), II, 223-25.
62. Pearson, "Memoir," p. 1, col. 1.
63. *First Steamship Pioneers*, p. 39.
64. *Alta California*, April 9, 1849, p. 2, col. 4.
65. Pearson, "Memoir," p. 1, col. 1.
66. "Engineer's Log of 'Oregon'," December 8, 1848-February 23, 1849.
67. Joshua S. Henshaw, "Statement of historical events in California in early times after American occupation," MS. in Bancroft Library, p. 1.
68. John T. Little, "Statement of events in the first years of American occupation of California," MS. in Bancroft Library, p. 3.
69. Albert Williams, "Memoir," MS. in Huntington Library, pp. 11-12, 16.
70. R. H. Pearson, "Memoir," p. 1, col. 1.
71. "Engineer's Log of 'Oregon'," March 13, 14, 1849.
72. Albert Williams, "Memoir," p. 17.

73. "Engineer's Log of 'Oregon'," March 26, 1849.
 74. Albert Williams, "Memoir," p. 17.
 75. Theodore T. Johnson, *Sights in the gold region and scenes by the way*, (New York, 1849), p. 93.
 76. "Engineer's Log of 'Oregon'," March 27, 30, 31, 1849.
 77. David N. Hawley, "Statement," MS. in Bancroft Library, p. 3.
 78. Pearson, "Memoir," p. 1, cols. 1-2.
 79. "Engineer's Log of 'Oregon'," April 2, 3, 1849.
 80. Pearson, "Memoir," p. 1, cols. 1-2.
 81. "Engineer's Log of 'Oregon'," April 11, 1849.
 82. *Ibid.*, April 12, 13, 17, 21, 26, 28, May 3, 5, 1849. Pearson, "Memoir," p. 1, cols. 1-2.
 83. C. W. Haskins, *The argonauts of California* (New York, 1890), p. 434.
 84. M. Hall McAllister, "Diary" in *Re-union of the pioneer Panama passengers on the fourth of June, 1874 . . .* (San Francisco, 1874), pp.13-17.
 85. *Alta California*, May 1, 1849, p. 2, cols. 1-2.
 86. *Alta California*, April 4, 1849, p. 2, col. 3.
 Rates to intermediate ports were:
- | | | | |
|------------------|--------|------------------|-------|
| Monterey | \$15 | San Blas (cabin) | \$160 |
| Santa Barbara | 40 | " " (steerage) | 80 |
| San Diego | 65 | Acapulco (cabin) | 200 |
| Mazatlan (cabin) | 132.50 | " (steerage) | 100 |
| " (steerage) | 64 | | |
87. *Alta California*, June 14, 1849, p. 2, col. 4. Pearson, "Memoir," p. 1, col. 2.

WESTERN HISTORY

*A Check List of Recent Items Relating to California and the West**

ALEXANDER, J. A.

The life of George Chaffey, a story of irrigation beginnings in California and Australia. Melbourne: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1928. xv+379 pp., ills., map. [The story of a great irrigation engineer. Includes chapters by Elwood Mead and H. T. Cory.]

ALEXANDER, MARY CHARLOTTE.

William Patterson Alexander in Kentucky, the Marquesas, Hawaii. Honolulu: privately printed, 1934. xvii+516 pp., ills. [Early Hawaiian history based on letters and journals. Consideration is given to the California-Hawaiian trade during the gold rush.]

ATKINSON, F. W.

100 Years in the Pajaro Valley from 1769 to 1868. Watsonville, 1934. 47 pp., ills. [A reprint of articles from Atkinson's newspapers, *Evening Pajaronian* and *The Register*.]

BARR, LOUISE FARROW.

Presses of Northern California and their books, 1900-1933. Berkeley: The Book Arts Club, University of California Press, 1934. xxii+276 pp.

BIRNEY, HOFFMAN.

Grim journey, the story of the adventures of the emigrating company known as the Donner party. . . . New York: Minton Balch & Co., 1934. viii+275 pp. [A "made up" journal, "from the lips of William H. Eddy."]

BOYD, MARGARET KITTLE.

Reminiscences of early Marin County gardens. The San Francisco Garden Club, October program, 1934. [Pamphlet, 21 pp.]

CARR, WILLIAM G.

John Swett, the biography of an educational pioneer. Illustrations by Mary Louise Wallace. Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1933. xi+173 pp., ills.

COMFORT, HERBERT G.

Where rolls the Kern. A history of Kern County, California. Moorpark: The Enterprise Press, 1934. [iii]+241 pp. [Includes documents on the founding of Fort Tejon. Also gives an account of Captain Elisha Stephens written by Judge Tom Baker. Here, despite Bancroft, Stephens' name is spelled correctly. Baker should know, as he wrote a biography of Stephens which was burned in the Bakersfield fire.]

DAVIS, NOLAN.

The old Missions of California, the story of the peaceful conquest of the State. Oakland: Claremont Press, Inc., 118 pp., ills.

ELLISON, ROBERT SPURRIER.

Fort Bridger, Wyoming, a brief history . . . Caspar, Wyo., The historical landmark commission of Wyoming, 1931. 58 pp., ills., map.

GRADY, HENRY F., and CARR, ROBERT M.

The Port of San Francisco, a study of traffic competition, 1921-1933. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1934. xxviii+502 pp.

* Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.—CHARLES L. CAMP.

GRANT, BLANCHE C.

When old trails were new. The story of Taos. New York: The Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1934. xvi+344 pp., ills. [Contains much original material published here for the first time—R. H. and E. M. Kern's diaries of Frémont's ill-fated fourth expedition, notes on frontiersmen famous in the West, mining history of the Taos region, and the history of the artist colony. Years of faithful research have gone into the writing of this book. Contains an appendix of documents, notes and a bibliography.]

GRAVES, CHARLES S.

Before the white man came. Yreka: The Siskiyou News, 1934. 99 pp., port. and ills. [Describes the Indians appreciatively.]

GRAY, A. A.

History of California from 1542. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1934. xii+655 pp., ills. [A really good elementary text book.]

HAMILTON, RAPHAEL N.

The early cartography of the Missouri Valley. *Amer. Historical Review*, July, 1934.

LAKE, STUART N.

In the path of the padres. A twentieth century presentation in rotogravure of California's twenty-one Franciscan Missions . . . With a foreword by Fra. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M. Copyright 1934 by C. Leslie Richards, publisher, 130 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, California. [32 pp.] [Photographs by Karl Obert and Walter Averrett.]

LARKIN, THOMAS O., KERN, E. M., *et al.*

California in 1846 as described in letters from Thomas O. Larkin, "The Farthest West," E. M. Kern, and "Justice." Notes and introduction by Oscar Lewis. San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1934. x+64 pp., 10 ills.

LOYER, FERNAND [ed.]

Le guide français de Los Angeles et du sud de la Californie. A historical sketch of southern California with particular reference to the activities of people of French origin . . . Los Angeles: The Franco American Publishing Company, 1932. [7]+221 pp., ills.

LIPPS, OSCAR HIRAM.

The case of the California Indians. Chemawa, Oregon: Printed by Indian student apprentices, U. S. Indian school print shop, 1932 [=1933]. [3]+40 pp., ills.

McNARY, LAURA KELLY.

California Spanish and Indian place names, their pronunciation, meaning and location. Los Angeles, Wetzel Publishing Co., 1931. 77 pp.

O'SHAUGHNESSY, M. M.

Hetch Hetchy, its origin and history. San Francisco: [printed by the Recorder Printing and Publishing Co.], 1934. 134 pp., frontis., map.

PARKER, PAUL [compiler].

Historical column in *Salinas Independent*, June 29, 1934, *et seq.* [Local history of the Salinas Valley.]

QUIETT, GLENN CHESNEY.

They built the West. An epic of rails and cities. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934. xx+569 pp., ills., maps. [Documented.]

RENSCH, H. E., E. G., and HOOVER, MILDRED BROOKE.

Historic spots in California. Valley and Sierra counties. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, c. 1934. xxiii+597 pp.

[TAYLOR, LILLIE JANE ORR].

Life history of Thomas Orr, Jr. Pioneer stories of California & Utah. [Placerville: *Placerville Republican*], 1930. 51 pp., ill. [With Brigham Young to Salt Lake in 1847, to California in 1850.]

WALSH, MARIE T.

To mark early Los Angeles. Stories of the city's pueblo days . . . *Southern California Business*, Oct. 1934, pp. 12-13, ill.

WELLS, HARRY LAURENZ

California names; over two thousand five hundred place names, individual names, words and phrases in common use in the Golden State, spelled, pronounced, . . . Los Angeles: Kellaway-Ide-Jones Co., 1934. 94 pp., 1 ill.

BOOK REVIEWS

DON AGUSTIN V. ZAMORANO, Statesman, Soldier, Craftsman and California's First Printer. By George L. Harding. Los Angeles: Zamorano Club, 1934. xvi+308 pp. including index; ill., 4to.

Contrary to the usual result of intensive research, Mr. Harding's story of the life of Zamorano sparkles, is alive, entertaining, and makes of what had been heretofore nothing but a shadowy figure in outline, a real flesh and blood man about whom the history of California revolves from 1825 until his return to Mexico in 1838.

To many the name Zamorano is associated only with the first printing in California, and even in that regard little of positive fact was known about the man. But now, thanks to years of delving into the records of the past, not only has Mr. Harding brought to light details hardly suspected, but he has traced the doings of his subject from his birth in St. Augustine, Florida until his death in 1842 in Mexico, each step documented, in such a way that no longer will there be any mystery regarding either Zamorano's printing activities or his military and political life.

The period covered by Zamorano's residence in California was replete with the struggle of Mexican officialdom and the coterie of *hijos del pais*, or native sons, for control. In addition to this, the disestablishment of the Missions was a leading source of contention. In this definitive biography of a most unusual man, Mr. Harding has created a vivid picture of the times against which he has projected the personality of an eye-witness to events, who "as a man of character and honor, distinguished for his loyalty, probity and independence" guided his conduct by his own principles, "and as he wrote to Echeandia on April 21, 1832, 'those who wish to believe to the contrary can believe whatever they may wish'."

Typographically the volume leaves nothing to be desired. Bruce McCallister has printed a beautiful book. A reproduction of a self-portrait of Zamorano serves as frontispiece, and facsimiles of Zamorano's earliest imprints illustrate the progress of printing in California. A heretofore unpublished 1830 map of California serves as one illustration, as likewise does an unfinished sketch of Monterey in 1829 made by Alfred Robinson.

The Zamorano Club of Los Angeles is to be congratulated upon this publication, which it fathered, and without which any collection of Californiana will be incomplete.

DOUGLAS S. WATSON.

THE TRAVELS OF JEDEDIAH SMITH. A Documentary Outline Including the Journal of the Great American Pathfinder. By Maurice S. Sullivan. Santa Ana: The Fine Arts Press, 1934. [viii]+195 pp., port., map, and illust. Roy. 8vo.

No discovery in Western history could be more gratifying than the finding of the lost journals of Jedediah Smith. Through a brilliant feat of detective work extending over several years, Mr. Sullivan has unearthed a copy of Smith's overland diary—a manuscript which has remained in the hands of a branch of the Smith family for a century. The copy was made by the Rev. Samuel Parkman, a friend of Smith, who wrote the "eulogy" published shortly after the explorer's death.

The "Journal" opens with a short reminiscence of Smith's experiences with Ashley on the Missouri in 1822. It begins abruptly again with Smith's diary written during the eastward crossing of the Nevada-Utah desert in the summer of 1827. It continues with a short account of the return journey to the Colorado River and into California after the massacre by the Mojaves. On November 9, in California, the diary is resumed and proceeds in a full and interesting form until July 3, 1828—a few days before the massacre on the Umpqua.

Mr. Sullivan has discovered in the Library of Congress a printed map, dated 1839, by David H. Burr, "Geographer to the House of Representatives." The author believes that the geography of the Great Basin area, as shown on this map "must have been copied from a sketch by Smith, or based on Smith's notes." Most of Smith's routes are sketched in on the map, but are difficult to make out.

With the evidence now available, it becomes clear that Smith in approaching the Colorado River traveled down the Virgin River from its headwaters, as argued by Dr. A. M. Woodbury in his recent article in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. From the map it appears that Smith crossed the Sierra near the headwaters of the Stanislaus and Walker rivers and kept well south of the Humboldt as he traveled eastward toward Salt Lake. If he had known of the existence of the river he would presumably not have suffered his animals to perish for want of grass and water and he and his two companions would not have been exposed to the danger of death by thirst.

Smith's troubles with the Californian authorities are related with candor and in great detail. In this first clash between American trappers and the Spanish authorities in California there is much food for reflection. The subsequent American expeditions into California—the Patties, Ewing Young, Walker, Frémont—were either jailed, ordered from the country or treated with great suspicion, and the Mojave Indians threatened Ewing Young in 1829. A large part of the diary deals with experiences among the aborigines of the Sacramento valley, and their excitement upon encountering white men for the first time.

From the Hudson's Bay archives Mr. Sullivan has reproduced the Journal of Alexander R. McLeod, which adds considerably to the Smith story—bringing the American trappers back to the scene of the final massacre to rescue from the Indians the furs, equipment and fragments of the journals scattered among numerous villages.

The book closes with extracts from a remarkable report of Governor George Simpson to the Hudson's Bay Company describing the activities of American trappers in the Rockies from 1809 to 1829. There is also an account of the pioneering exploits of Smith's brothers and finally, "The Last Will and Testament of Jedediah S. Smith," witnessed by Samuel Parkman and Jonathan Trumbull Warner.

The beautiful format and typography reflect credit upon Mr. Thomas E. Williams and his printing class at Santa Ana Junior College.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The Society held a luncheon meeting at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel on Tuesday, September 18, 1934. Mrs. Henry W. Root spoke on Bret Harte. Her father, Col. S. G. Whipple, was editor and proprietor of *The Northern Californian*, published at Union (now Arcata), Humboldt County, in 1859 and 1860. Bret Harte was employed on this paper during that period, as printer and reporter, and, during Colonel Whipple's absence, he served as editor. Mrs. Root drew on her father's records and reminiscences to reconstruct the life of the youthful journalist during these months. She quoted some of the editorials that he wrote and described the pioneer conditions among which he lived. There were twenty-five members and guests present.

On Tuesday, October 23, 1934, Mr. George L. Harding addressed the Society at a luncheon meeting held at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel. His subject was "Agustin Vicente Zamorano, Statesman and Craftsman." Mr. Harding devoted much of his time to covering the less known aspects of Zamorano's life. He called attention to the fact that, having come with Governor Echeandia from Mexico and having been generally a partisan favoring the Mexican rather than the Californian claimants to authority, and having opposed those Californians who left considerable historical writings, he did not fare very well in the histories based on these writings. Mr. Harding called attention to the fact that Zamorano had left more than his printing, for he was a painter of some ability, as surviving work testifies. Mr. Harding demonstrated that Zamorano was entitled to be regarded as a leader in both the political and cultural life of California. There were thirty-eight members and guests present.

On Tuesday, November 20, 1934, the Society held a luncheon meeting at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel which was addressed by Miss Eudora Garoutte, who for many years was in charge of the California section of the State Library at Sacramento. Her subject was "A Summer with Our Neighbor Authors." Miss Garoutte described under this title her experience during her last summer at the library in helping eight authors who had come from a distance to write on various aspects of California subjects. She spoke briefly of each one personally and of the special line that each was following up. It gave opportunity incidentally to indicate the scope of service that can be rendered by the efficient and accommodating staff of this admirable institution. There were forty members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

September 1 to November 30, 1934

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MISS ANNA W. BEAVER—Phelps, Chas. H., *Californian verses*, S. F., 1882; San Francisco Settlement Association, *First annual report*, S. F., 1895.

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PICTURES

From DR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Large etching of Mark Twain (framed); large photograph of Mark Twain.

From MISS RACHAEL DAVIS—Photographs: Camp Sherman, San Francisco, 1880; Rachael Davis as member of Carnival Guard, S. F., 1880.

From MR. W. B. de la MONTANYA—Two photographs of his grandfather, Harry N. Morse, former Sheriff of Alameda County.

From A. T. LEONARD, Jr., M. D.—Five photographs of Panama Pacific Exposition.

From MISS AGNES PARK—Photographs: Sam Brannan; William T. Coleman; James King of William; Sheriff Scannell; Judge David S. Terry; "Fort Gunnybags"; letter sheets showing James King of William, his assassination, funeral, surrender and execution of the murderers (photo.).

From MISS MAUD WOODS—Seventeen stereoscopic views of California scenes.

From MRS. LOUISIANA YTURRIAGA—Daguerreotype of Joseph M. Garcia, b. 1826, d. 1928.

MISCELLANEOUS

From DR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Original deeds: Grant of Town Lot No. 171, San Francisco, to Adolphus Watkins (on a printed form), signed by Edwin Bryant, Chief Magistrate, April 30, 1847; Watkins' deed to William McDonald, May 1, 1847; and McDonald's deed to Frank Ward, May 31, 1847; letter from Joaquin Miller to Henry Meade Bland, and other items.

From MR. ALLEN L. CHICKERING—Badge and Programme of the 25th Anniversary of the Pioneers of the Steamship "California."

From MISS FLORENCE R. KEENE—Autographed MSS and cards of Julius M. Alexander; Harrison Dibblee, and Cyrus Etheredge.

From MR. D. Q. TROY—Subscription to *Pony Express Courier*. (Mr. Troy also continues to subscribe to the *Grizzly Bear* for the Society.)

LOANS

From MISS AUGUSTA A. BLOOMER—Seven telegrams written by Emperor Norton; photograph of John Godfrey Bloomer, Manager of Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Co.

From MRS. EMMA C. de la MONTANYA—Rifle with which her father, Sheriff Harry N. Morse, killed Juan Soto, the Alameda County desperado.

NEW MEMBERS

<i>Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Proposed by</i>
Bryant, Mrs. E. A.	Los Angeles	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Dawson, G. E.	San Francisco	Mr. George E. Dane
Geary, Rev. Gerald J.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Lacy, Roy	Los Angeles	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Maloney, Mrs. Alice B.	Santa Ana	Miss Dorothy Huggins
VanMale, John	Denver, Colo.	Mr. Anson S. Blake

In Memoriam

WILLIAM DAVIES

On October 12, 1934, William Davies of Salinas passed away after a short illness. He was born on November 1, 1881, son of Donald Davies, one of the pioneer surveyors of Monterey County. He started while a boy in his teens as chainman for his father, and at the time of his death there was no portion of the county which he had not traversed. Due to the fact that he had surveyed the sixty-eight land grants in the county and had partitioned most of them, he was the authority on them in Monterey County. Besides going on foot over the grants he had delved so deeply into "The Book of Solares of Monterey" that he could almost give verbatim the defeasance clauses and descriptions of the "pueblo lots" of Monterey and also the ranch grants incorporated in this book.

Possessed of a marvelous memory, he retained a picture of the physical features of the country, so that he was always of great assistance to those wanting to locate Indian shell mounds, hieroglyphics and caves. Just prior to his death he was planning on following the routes taken by Portolá and Crespi in Monterey County, for in his opinion, there is a slight variance from the generally accepted routes taken by these travelers and the descriptions given in the dairies.

His death has cast a gloom of keen sorrow wherever he was known—and to know him was to fully appreciate his sterling qualities and inestimable worth.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Libby Davies of Salinas; his father, Donald Davis, and several brothers and sisters.

PAUL PARKER.

LAURA LIVINGSTON MCKINSTRY

The recent death of Laura McKinstry has removed from the present day world of philanthropy one of its most important figures. Member of a distinguished pioneer family, she gladly assumed, early in life, heavy responsibilities in the service of the community.

"I count life a step to try the soul's strength on." These words of Robert Browning seem to me the keynote to the unselfish life of this noble woman. Throughout her long career, she remained in the public eye, a staunch supporter of all good causes. Her intelligence, her ideals, her industry, her prestige, all were devoted to humanitarianism and justice.

She was the founder and president of a Home for Incurables, she served in the Probation Court, she was a member of the Commission of the San Fran-

cisco Public Library as well as its one-time president, and her place on the committees of the Community Chest was one of continuous and earnest endeavor.

Sensitive as she was to the desperate needs of the poor and the suffering, her own cultural background made her remember in the same measure that there were other needs as urgent, and she did not permit her chosen work to limit her abundantly generous capacities for giving. She loved literature to such an extent that her own appreciation of fine contributions was not complete until she had made it possible for others to enjoy them as well.

The sympathy of her friends goes out to her bereaved family, a sympathy undoubtedly shared by the hundreds who were beneficiaries of her large-hearted concern. But she will be greatly missed by more than these. The world will always need more women of her calibre to carry on its work.

ALBERT M. BENDER.

MICHAEL MAURICE O'SHAUGHNESSY

Death came to one of the Society's most active and valuable members, M. M. O'Shaughnessy, a short time before the final completion of the vast Hetch Hetchy project on which he had labored as chief engineer for more than twenty-two years.

But sixteen days before the pure water of the Tuolumne River finally flowed to San Francisco through the Hetch Hetchy Aqueduct, "The Chief," as he was known to thousands of San Franciscans, suffered a heart attack in the early morning of October 12 and died within a few hours. His funeral was held October 15 from the Church of St. Vincent de Paul.

Michael Maurice O'Shaughnessy was born in Limerick, Ireland, May 28, 1864, and twenty years later graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Engineering from the Royal University of Dublin. On October 21, 1890, at San Francisco, he married Miss Mary Spottiswood, and of this union five children were born, Helen, Elizabeth, Francis, Margaret and Mary, all of whom survive, with his widow.

Before he was called to the post of City Engineer of San Francisco, August 31, 1912, Chief O'Shaughnessy had a varied and busy career. Starting in 1885, he was assistant engineer on the Sierra Valley and Mohawk Railway in Plumas County, and a few years later became assistant engineer for the Southern Pacific Company. He laid out a number of towns, including Niles, Tracy, Sanger, Lindsay, Porterville, Merced, Mill Valley and Dinuba.

In 1893 he was chief engineer of the California Midwinter Exposition held in Golden Gate Park and at its close he became chief engineer of the Mountain Copper Company in Shasta County.

Developing water resources for sugar plantations in Hawaii next claimed his attention. He built the Olokele, Koolau, Keanaiaemaui and Kohola aq-

ducts. Shortly after the 1906 disaster, he returned to San Francisco, and was employed by John D. Spreckles to build the San Diego aqueduct, as chief engineer of the Southern California Mountain Water Company.

In 1912, when he became City Engineer of San Francisco, he is said to have left a private practise paying him four times as much as his \$15,000 salary from the city. He was placed in full charge of the Hetch Hetchy project, handling financial as well as engineering details. On this great project he constructed works of \$100,000,000 value, including six dams, a 68-mile railroad, two power houses, and transmission lines, and 150 miles of aqueduct, consisting of tunnels and pipe.

During his incumbency as City Engineer he was in charge of all the great program of construction work undertaken by the municipality, including completion of the high pressure fire protection system, Mile Rock sewer tunnel under Sutro Heights, construction of 68 miles of the Municipal Railway with concrete and steel car barns and steel cars, Stockton Street tunnel, Duboce tunnel, Twin Peaks tunnel, the seawall at the esplanade, and an extensive program of boulevard construction.

When the new charter went into effect, January 8, 1932, Chief O'Shaughnessy's position was abolished and the Public Utilities Commission appointed him as Consulting Engineer on the Hetch Hetchy project.

He was a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, New England Water Works Association, American Water Works Association and was on the editorial advisory board of *Water Works Engineering*. He was an active member of the University and Chit-Chat Clubs and of the Seismological Society of America, Academy of Sciences, and of the Olympic, Commonwealth and Presidio Golf clubs. In 1930, he was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Science by the University of San Francisco.

A few days before his death, his book, *Hetch Hetchy—Its Origin and History*, came from the press in an edition of one thousand copies.

O'Shaughnessy Dam in Yosemite National Park, over which the Hetch Hetchy water tumbles on its way to San Francisco, will for all time act as a monument to this faithful servant who brought this great project to its completion.

CHARLES R. BODEN.

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SAN FRANCISCO

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